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HISTORY

OF

SOUTH AFRICA

SINCE SEPTEMBER 1795

BY

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WITH SIXTEEN MAPS AND CHARTS

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. IV.

THE ORANGE FREE STATE, THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC, ZULULAND, BASUTOLAND, BETSHUANALAND, AND MATABELELAND FROM 1854 TO 1872

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CHAPTER L.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE FROM 1854 TO 1857.

BRITISH authority was withdrawn from the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers in February 1854. The white inhabitants were left to themselves, with liberty to form a government in any manner they might choose. But no matter what form of government they might decide upon, it was a necessity that it should differ materially from the Sovereignty administration. That administration, though it exercised no direct authority over people of Bantu or Hottentot blood as long as they remained within their respective locations, had claimed supremacy over every man, white or black, living between the Vaal river, the Orange river, and the Kathlamba mountains. Within these bounds the Basuto tribe was henceforth to be independent, not only in the reserve defined by Major Warden and Sir Harry Smith, but in the locations allotted to Sikonyela, Gert Taaibosch, and Carolus Baatje, which Moshesh had added by conquest to his domains, and in Molitsane's location, which formed part of the Lesuto with the full consent of the Bataung chief. Lepui and Moroko were also to be independent within their reserves.

Adam Kok's standing was practically what it had been before the Napier treaty. The claims of Nicholas Waterboer and Cornelis Kok could either be admitted and arranged, or could be ignored with impunity as by the Sovereignty

government. Most of Jan Bloem's Koranas had left the territory, and those that remained had their location on the Vaal, in which it was understood that they would be left unmolested as long as they conducted themselves peaceably. This was understood also of the clans of Scheel Kobus, son and successor of Kausop, David Danser, and Goliath Yzerbek, and of the residents at the mission stations of Bethany, Beersheba, and Hebron.

The country actually occupied by Europeans and the waste lands within the old Sovereignty boundaries comprised the territory over which the new government would exercise jurisdiction. The provisional administration was handed over by Sir George Clerk to a council of seven members, of which Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman was president.

Seldom has a civilised community been thrown entirely upon its own resources under such unfavourable circumstances. The territory transferred to the fifteen thousand Europeans who resided between the Vaal and the Orange looks large on a map, but it is in no part capable of supporting a dense population. Though covered at certain seasons with rich grass, the great plain is in times of drought a dreary waste. The soil of fully half its area is shallow, and the rainfall of the southern and western parts is so uncertain that agriculture cannot be carried on unless water is conserved by artificial means. Adapted only for cattle-runs, several thousand acres of ground are required by each stock-breeder, for its capabilities must be reckoned when it is at its worst. In 1854 vast herds of springboks and other antelopes grazed on its pastures, and their dried flesh formed no inconsiderable portion of the food of the inhabitants, white and coloured. Far removed from a seaport, the settlers had little intercourse with the outer world, and lived in general in a condition of rude simplicity. Few in number and widely scattered, they were yet divided into parties and factions, and there was no individual among them so prominent by his abilities as to be an accepted leader.

Beside the infant state in its weakness was the Basuto tribe under the ablest chief in South Africa. For every white man that could take the field, he had at least twelve well-armed warriors at his back, and an almost impregnable country to defend himself in. His people were also multiplying rapidly, by adoption from other tribes and by that amazing natural increase which distinguishes the Bantu race everywhere.

The provisional government called upon the people to elect representatives to meet and frame a constitution. On the 28th of March 1854 these representatives came together in Bloemfontein, and the first sitting of the first volksraad of the Orange Free State took place. There were present two representatives of the village of Bloemfontein, one representative of each of the villages of Sannah's Poort (now Fauresmith), Winburg, Harrismith, and Smithfield, and twenty-three representatives of as many wards or fieldcornetcies into which the five districts bearing the same names as the villages were divided. On the 29th the provisional government handed over its authority to the volksraad, and immediately afterwards the discussions commenced.

The debates lasted until the 18th of April, during which period a constitution was framed. The country was declared to be a republic, with the name of the Orange Free State. All adult males of European blood, after a residence of six months, were to have full burgher rights and to perform the duties required of burghers.

The supreme and sole legislative authority of the land was vested in a single chamber termed the volksraad. Each village and each fieldcornetcy was entitled to return by election of its inhabitants one member to the volksraad, who should hold his seat for four years. At the end of two years half the members of the first volksraad, selected by lot, were to retire, so that thereafter in perpetuity there should be an election every alternate year of half the full number. The volksraad was to meet in ordinary session at

Bloemfontein on the first Monday in February of every year. Twelve members were to constitute a quorum. The qualifications required of a member were that he should be fully twenty-five years of age, that he should possess fixed property of the value of £200, that he must have been resident in the country for twelve months, and that he must never have been punished for crime.

The executive authority was entrusted to a president, to be elected by the burghers of the state from a list of names submitted by the volksraad. His term of office was limited to five years, but he could be re-elected as often as the people desired. The president could declare war and make peace, enter into treaties, and appoint officers when the volksraad was not in session, but all these acts required to be ratified by the volksraad. He could propose laws, and had a voice in debates; but had no vote, much less a veto. He had the oversight of all public departments and the control of everything in connection with the public service; but was responsible to the volksraad, to which body there was an appeal against any of his acts. He was required to make a tour of inspection at least once a year, to examine all the offices, and give the inhabitants an opportunity to make known their desires. He could summon the volksraad to meet in extraordinary session. He was to be advised and assisted by an executive council, which was to consist of the landdrost of Bloemfontein, the government secretary, and three unofficial members to be chosen by the volksraad.

It was provided that the president could be tried by the volksraad for high crimes or misdemeanours, but could only be condemned by a majority of three votes to one, and all the members were to have special notice given to them to attend on the occasion. He could be suspended from performance of the duties by a bare plurality of votes. In case of his death, resignation, or dismissal, the volksraad was to appoint either a single individual or a committee to act as president until a regular election could take place.

Laws enacted by the volksraad were to come in force two months after the date of their publication, unless otherwise specified in the statutes themselves. In all cases where there were no local enactments the Roman-Dutch law was declared to be the fundamental law of the state.

The burghers of each ward were to elect a fieldcornet, whose duties were to be partly magisterial and partly military. In case of war the fieldcornet was required to call out the men of his ward, and to act as their leader. The burghers of each district were to elect a commandant, whose duties were purely of a military nature, the fieldcornets of the district being under his orders in time of war.

Every healthy male in the state between the ages of sixteen and sixty was made liable to perform military service, mounted and armed at his own expense. In time of war the commandants were to elect a general, but only for the period of the war. The state's president, the commandants, and the fieldcornets were then to form a council of war (krygsraad). The general was to receive directions from the president only.

In each district a landdrost was to be stationed, whose duties were to be the administration of justice and the collection of revenue. The landdrosts were to be named by the volksraad, but in case of vacancies occurring between the sessions the president could make provisional appointments. The landdrosts were to have seats in the volksraad, with right of discussion, but not of voting. To assist them in important judicial cases, boards of heemraden were created. A circuit court was constituted, to consist of three landdrosts sitting together. It was empowered to try serious criminal cases, the question of guilty or not guilty being decided by a jury. It had also jurisdiction in civil cases of large amount, and in appeal from the landdrost's court of the district in which its session was being held. The president, with the advice and consent of a majority of the executive council, had power to remit or mitigate sentences passed by the courts of law.

The Dutch reformed church was to be supported by the state, but conscience was to be free. Liberty of the individual, freedom of the press, and security of property were guaranteed by the constitution. It contained also many clauses relative to matters of less importance, which need not be referred to here.

The volksraad appointed an executive council, and requested Mr. J. P. Hoffman to act as provisional president until its next session, which was to be held on the 4th of September, when the elected president would be installed in office. The election was to take place on the 15th of May. The following four names were submitted to the electors, to choose a president from: Josias Philip Hoffman, of the district of Smithfield, Orange Free State; Captain Struben, a magistrate in Natal; Jacobus Nicolaas Boshof, of Maritzburg, Natal; and Andries du Toit, late commandant of Beaufort West, Cape Colony.

The volksraad appointed the following landdrosts: Hector Lowen for Bloemfontein, J. H. Ford for Smithfield, Jurie Wessels for Winburg, and P. M. Bester for Harrismith.

Sir George Clerk had presented to the provisional government a sum of £3,000 for the purpose of "soothing bitter recollections of sufferings of former times." This sum was considered wholly inadequate for the purpose intended, and the provisional government had therefore requested the special commissioner either to add £10,000, or to appoint an agent to apportion it, as they feared that any distribution which they might make would increase rather than allay the discontent of the claimants. The special commissioner declined to do either, but suggested by letter that the claimants should relinquish their rights in favour of the new government. Acting President Hoffman laid this letter before the volksraad, when immediately those members — sixteen in number—who were among the claimants relinquished their shares. This patriotic example was not, however, followed by all the burghers, and the distribution of the fund occasioned considerable difficulty.

The claims of Nicholas Waterboer and Cornelis Kok to ground above the junction of the Orange and the Vaal came before the volksraad for discussion, and the members, in a desire to do justice to every one of whatever nationality, appointed a commission to inquire into the pretensions of the two captains.

The volksraad then closed its first session.

With a view to conciliate their powerful neighbour, the moderate parties in the Free State combined, and elected as the first president Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, who was well known as a philanthropist of the same school as Wilberforce and Buxton. Thirty years earlier he and his father had accompanied Lieutenant Farewell's first party to Natal, but they had not remained long in that country. Since that time he had been engaged in various callings, and had resided in many parts of South Africa. Mr. Hoffman had not the advantage of more than a very limited education from books, but he was naturally shrewd and clever. When a young man he had met with an accident in Capetown which crippled him for life, so that his power was now of the mind, not of the body. For several years he had been living on a farm at Jammerberg Drift given to him by Moshesh, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, and in dealing with whom he maintained that nothing but moral force was needed. With many admirable qualities, the first president of the Free State had one great failing: want of candour. He was a man whose ideas of diplomacy were those of the seventeenth, not of the nineteenth century.

A matter demanding the immediate attention of the government was the attitude of Adam Kok. That chief was still endeavouring to maintain a position of independence within the reserve assigned to him by Sir Harry Smith, and to exclude white people from it. Upon the publication of the convention of the 23rd of February, he caused an advertisement to be inserted in the newspapers that with regard to the third article, in which it was stated "that he had approved of and confirmed the measures of her Majesty's

special commissioner for removing all impediments tending to prevent the Griquas from selling their lands," he thereby made known that he had *not* up to that date approved of and ratified such measures, either by word or letter. He next proceeded to encourage a party of indigent blacks from the Cape Colony to settle in his territory.

The Free State government had then no option, and was obliged to take decisive measures. To allow a community of thriftless and idle paupers to grow up on their border would be culpable neglect. On the 27th of May, therefore, a notice was inserted in the *Bloemfontein Gazette* that all persons purchasing land in the Griqua reserve must make the necessary declarations before the landdrost of Fauresmith, when they could calculate thereafter upon protection by the state.

The Griqua captain, when rejecting Sir George Clerk's offers, had forgotten how entirely dependent he was upon the imperial authorities. He had since written both to Sir George Clerk and Sir George Cathcart, asking to be allowed to purchase ammunition at Colesberg, and finding his request unattended to, he began to realise his position. On the 12th of July he wrote to Sir George Clerk "to ascertain if the terms proposed to him and his council some months before were still open for their acceptance, as, if so, they desired negotiations to be reopened with a view of giving their consent to them in a somewhat modified form." He stated that "a greater number of his people than he had anticipated were desirous of selling, and that for him to prevent such sales would, he felt assured, not only involve himself and his people in difficulties, but also throw the whole country into confusion and excitement." He proposed that all deeds of sale should be countersigned by himself, so as to prevent fictitious transactions or disputed boundaries, that the £300 a year stipulated by the last treaty should be paid to him and his heirs in perpetuity, that larger sums than those previously offered should be given as compensation for farms between the Riet and Modder rivers, and that he should be

guaranteed in the right to purchase ammunition in the Cape Colony.

Sir George Clerk replied on the 3rd of August that it was then too late to offer terms, as he was no longer in a position to negotiate. The captain now realised that the treaty had really been set aside, and that instead of being the semi-independent ruler of a great tract of country, he was nothing more than the head of a little horde of Hottentots and mixed breeds in various stages of progress towards civilisation.

On the 28th of September President Hoffman visited Philippolis, when he had no difficulty in making a satisfactory arrangement with the Griqua captain and his council. The sale of farms was agreed to, and European purchasers were to be regarded as burghers of the Free State. Griquas within the old reserve were to continue to be subjects of Adam Kok, and all unoccupied ground therein was to remain the property of the Griqua government. Otherwise the reserve was completely done away with.

The only matter that could not be arranged was the claim still made by individual Griquas to farms leased outside of the reserve before the treaty with Sir Harry Smith, and which that governor had converted into property in perpetuity of the lessees. The president promised to urge the late special commissioner to make compensation for such farms, according to his own proposals in March, which Kok had rejected but would now gladly agree to. Further than that he could do nothing in the matter, though he reminded the captain that the case was really not such a hard one as it appeared on the surface, for Sir Peregrine Maitland had converted deeds of sale from Griquas to white men into leases for forty years, and the former owners of the farms which Sir Harry Smith had converted into perpetual holdings were receiving a subsidy of £100 a year as compensation for the conversion of leases into sales.

This arrangement brought to a close the disputes with the petty Griqua clan under Adam Kok, which had been

constant since the Napier treaty. The imperial authorities decided that the captain should receive the yearly allowance in money that Sir Harry Smith had engaged to pay him, as well as the £100 a year above referred to, and he drew it thereafter from the Cape treasury through the high commissioner as long as he lived.

During this time several changes were made in the staff of district officers. Mr. Jurie Wessels, who had been appointed by the volksraad landdrost of Winburg, declined to accept the situation. Mr. Schnehage, the clerk, acted as landdrost until the end of July, when he resigned. Mr. Joseph Millerd Orpen, who as a member of the volksraad had taken the leading part in framing the constitution of the state, was then provisionally appointed by the president, and was confirmed in the office by the volksraad on the 13th of September. At the same time the district of Harrismith was united to Winburg, but retained a separate board of heemraden. Mr. Bester, the former landdrost of Harrismith, was appointed to Bloemfontein, as successor to Mr. Lowen, who resigned.

At the commencement of President Hoffman's tenure of office the relationship between the Europeans and the Basuto was apparently satisfactory, for Moshesh, who had been watching the course of events with some degree of bewilderment, was keeping his people in tolerable order. But it was not long before difficulties began to crop up. In the Winburg district parties of Basuto under Molapo and other captains invaded and took possession of a tract of land that had been purchased from Rantsane, the chief of highest hereditary rank in the whole country; in the Smithfield district cattle-lifting was renewed; while in Harrismith Witsi's followers in organised robber bands were preventing anything like security.

The clan under Witsi, known as the Bakolokwe, once formed part of the large Baputi tribe when it was living in the territory bordering on the Limpopo river. Ejected from its home there by the Bavenda, the tribe had removed to

the south-east, losing much of its strength on the way, but incorporating boys and girls of other branches of the race, until it reached a locality where it could again build kraals and make gardens. In the early Zulu wars it had been nearly exterminated, and to save the remnant that remained the chief did as many others in similar circumstances were obliged to do, he placed himself and his people under Tshaka. They moved into Zululand, and became part of the composite tribe that obeyed the commands of the great and ruthless conqueror. There they remained until the defeat of Dingan by Panda's adherents, when they took advantage of the confusion that followed for a time, and fled westward over the mountains. Settling in the locality ever since known as Witsi's Hoek, these people, who had learned nothing from their sufferings, continued the career of plunder in which they had so long been engaged.

The losses occasioned to the farmers of Harrismith by their forays were very considerable. Mr. Orpen, landdrost of Winburg, whose opinion of Moshesh coincided with that of the president, was employed as a special commissioner to endeavour to obtain redress. The Basuto chief, who claimed no control over Witsi, sent his brother Moperi with Mr. Orpen to advise the robber captain to give up the spoil. But the mission was fruitless. Witsi neither restored the cattle nor would he allow Mr. Orpen and Moperi to inspect the herds in his country. The president then went upon the same errand himself, and met with a like rebuff.

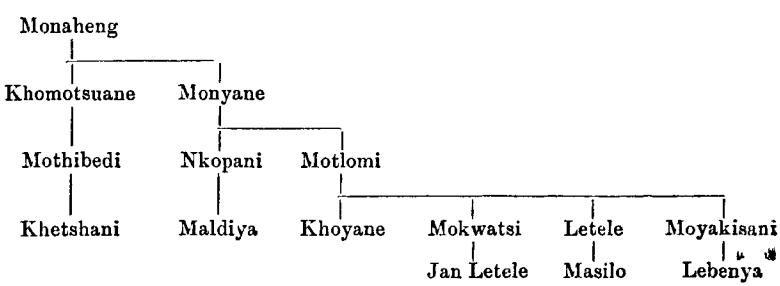
In August Mr. Hoffman visited Moshesh, and held several conferences with him and his principal men. It was arranged to bring further moral pressure to bear upon Witsi, when if he should still remain obstinate the president was to send an armed force to punish him, and Moshesh promised in this event neither to assist him nor to give him shelter. One of Witsi's brothers with his following, against whom no charge was made, at his own desire and with the president's approval was received as a vassal by Moshesh, and a tract of land in the Lesuto was given to him to live upon. A

promise was made by the Basuto chief to call in his subjects who were trespassing on the ground purchased from Rantsane, which he admitted was rightly the property of the white people.

The cattle-lifting in the Smithfield district was a matter not so easily settled, for many elements of discord were present there. The farmers and the Basuto were in some parts intermingled, and neither were the best specimens of their class. The farmers were sometimes guilty of hasty and imprudent acts that drew upon them the hostility of their neighbours. The Basuto were mainly adherents of two of the most notorious robber captains in all South Africa, Poshuli and Kuane or Jan Letele.

With the first of these, Moshesh's brother Poshuli, the reader is already acquainted. His stronghold was Vechtkop, which he had occupied for the last nine years.

The other, Kuane or—as he was called by the Europeans—Jan Letele, was the representative of the family of the most important chief in the country before the rise of Moshesh. He was a grandson of Motlomi. That chief was not the head of the family by many degrees, but his abilities had enabled him to grasp supreme power in the Bamonaheng tribe, and the hereditary head of the house made no effort to recover the position to which his birth entitled him. The following genealogical table will show at a glance the descent of both Motlomi and Jan Letele.



Mokwatsi, who is shown here as Jan Letele's father, in reality died young, without leaving any children; but in

order that his house should not perish, a woman was given to his brother Letele, whose children were to be considered those of the dead man. Jan Letele was on this account termed "a child of the grave." His mother was killed by some Bushmen, when fleeing from the invading horde under Matiwane. He was then an infant not a month old. His grandmother, who had been a favourite wife of Motlomi, took him to the Cape Colony, and he remained at Theopolis until he was twenty-three years of age, when he returned to the country north of the Orange.

In his pride of birth Jan Letele looked with anger and scorn upon the upstart, as he deemed him, who had usurped dignity and power to which he had not been born. He was in the habit of speaking with contempt of Moshesh and his family, and asking such questions as "who is the son of Mokatshane, whom the white men as well as the Basuto regard as a great chief? Can any one trace his descent or connect him with the heads of our race?" He was acquainted with the Dutch language, but had learnt in his exile nothing else that was useful. Having collected a band of disaffected characters about him, this heir of a fallen line was continually disturbing the peace by his robberies and riotous acts. With Poshuli he was at variance, as a matter of course; and Moshesh, who always tried to conciliate such persons rather than reduce them by force, seemed afraid of proceeding against him.

Though fair promises were made by the Basuto chief and his counsellors, matters remained in a state of confusion between the Caledon and the Orange. There was no desire on the part of Moshesh that Europeans should live comfortably there, as he wanted the ground for his own people to expand upon. At the end of the year Mr. Orpen visited Thaba Bosigo* again as special commissioner, but obtained nothing more than a renewal of the promises made to the president.

* Bosigo being the usual and official spelling, I retain it, though it does not convey to a European the correct sound of the word. The g is superfluous, the pronunciation being Bos-see-o.

Moshesh, at this time, gained much credit with the friends of the missionaries in South Africa and in Europe by an ordinance which he published prohibiting the introduction of spirituous liquors into the Lesuto. The form of this ordinance must be attributed to European influence, but there is no reason to doubt that its object met with the approval of the great chief personally.

Of late years Europeans had been introducing spirituous liquors into the Lesuto, and it did not need the teaching of the missionaries to convince Moshesh that brandy was hurtful to his subjects. From time immemorial they had used fermented liquors made of millet; a kind of weak beer, indeed, forming a large proportion of their food. But the distillers' art was unknown to them, and brandy came therefore as a new thing into the country. Few individuals in the condition of the Basuto can resist the temptation to use strong liquor when it is before their eyes. Seeing this, Moshesh, by the advice of the missionaries and with the concurrence of his counsellors, issued, in November 1854, an ordinance under which all spirituous liquor brought among his people was to be poured upon the ground, without the owner having any claim for compensation. And that every one might be made acquainted with the law, it was drawn up in writing and published in Dutch and Sesuto. But it was never thoroughly carried out, though it had some effect in diminishing the quantity of spirits brought into the country.

At a later date Moshesh, by the advice of the missionaries, issued ordinances against punishment on charges of practising witchcraft and against circumcision. The first of these was only intended to gratify the missionaries, and no attempt was ever made to enforce it. Where the belief that certain individuals had power to bewitch others was partially undermined by Christian teaching, the punishment of persons smelt out by witchfinders ceased, but nowhere else. Circumcision has been abolished by some sections of the tribe, but is still practised by others, Moshesh himself at a later date having withdrawn his opposition to it.

A petty war was at this time being carried on along the left bank of the lower Vaal. Major Warden had set apart a tract of land there for the joint use of the Korana captain Goliath Yzerbek and the Bushman David Danser, and when the latter of these tried to dispose of some farms, he had declared such sales illegal. Mr. Green, the last British Resident, had, however, countenanced the disposal of ground by Danser, and Sir George Clerk concurred with him in doing so, as Danser represented that he had no cattle and therefore no use for as large a location as had been allotted to him. Without consulting Goliath, Danser was rapidly selling the whole reserve and converting the proceeds into brandy. Goliath then appealed to President Hoffman, and the matter came before the volksraad. In September 1854 that body directed a commission to inquire into the claims of the two captains; but before any investigation could be made, open war broke out between them. Danser expelled his opponent and seized his cattle, compelling Goliath to take refuge among the farmers. Gasibone, a chief of the Batlapin beyond the Vaal, threatened to interfere, and the matter was becoming serious, when the Free State government sent an officer to restore order. Danser was obliged to give back his booty and permit Goliath to return to the location. The quarrels between these petty captains caused the missionaries to remove from Pniel, and for several years that station was abandoned by the Berlin society.

During President Hoffman's visit to Moshesh in August 1854, he was received at all the principal stations with salutes of musketry fired in his honour. Ammunition seemed plentiful, yet Moshesh asked for a present of gunpowder. The president promised him some, and upon returning to Bloemfontein sent him a keg containing fifty pounds (22·68 kilogrammes). In the report of his journey laid before the volksraad during its next meeting this circumstance was not mentioned, but soon after the close of the session it became known. At once there was a great outcry against Mr. Hoffman, raised by those who had all

along accused him of lowering the dignity of the Europeans by his method of dealing with the Basuto chief. They now openly spoke of him as guilty of treason.

In February 1855 the volksraad met again, when it was found that the report in the records contained information concerning the gunpowder. Upon this a party of disaffected burghers, headed by some members of the volksraad, took possession of the fort, and pointed the guns at the president's house. The direction of public opinion was evident when this riotous proceeding met with hardly a remonstrance. The result was that Mr. Hoffman tendered his resignation, which was immediately accepted, and a committee of four members, with Mr. J. J. Venter as chairman, was appointed to administer the government until another president could be chosen and sworn in. Mr. J. N. Boshof was recommended to the people by the volksraad, and in course of time was duly elected.

The intercourse between the executive committee and Moshesh was carried on in a friendly manner, each expressing a desire for the continuation of peace. But as the depredations upon the border farmers increased greatly after Mr. Hoffman's retirement, Mr. Venter wrote to the chief that the only means of preserving peace would be for him to compel his people to do no wrong to the burghers of the Free State. Robberies followed, however, on such an extensive scale that many farmers were compelled to remove from the neighbourhood of the Basuto, while Moshesh continued as usual to deprecate war.

Mr. Venter then arranged for a meeting, which took place at Platberg on the 9th of August 1855. It was there agreed that any one losing cattle by theft should be at liberty to search for them in Moshesh's country, provided he went unarmed and carried a pass from the head of the state. Nothing could show more plainly than this agreement the helplessness of the infant republic, or the desire of its government to avoid a rupture with the Basuto. Mr. Venter was a man of common sense and knew that such an

arrangement was worthless, yet he felt that under the circumstances nothing else could be done.

On the 27th of August 1855 Mr. Jacobus Nicolaas Boshof was installed as president of the Free State. He was a man of some education, and had received such a training in office work as enabled him to put the various departments of the public service into something like order. With regard to Moshesh, he was disposed to adopt a firmer course of dealing than Mr. Hoffman had done, not because he was less anxious to preserve peace, but because he believed conciliation had been carried so far as to destroy the respect due to a civilised government.

In the meantime Sir George Grey had arrived in South Africa as high commissioner and governor of the Cape Colony, and it was already apparent that he possessed great ability in dealing with questions relating to the intercourse of the different races with each other. He saw at once that matters were fast drifting towards war between the Free State and the Basuto tribe, and that such a war must endanger the prestige of the Europeans throughout South Africa. To prevent it, if possible, while at the same time taking care not to involve the British government in any responsibilities, he arranged for a meeting between Mr. Boshof and Moshesh at Aliwal North, at which he should be present as a friend of both and endeavour to bring about a good understanding between them, though without assuming the title of arbitrator. The president and the chief entered into the plan with apparent cordiality, but on the appointed day Moshesh failed to appear. After waiting some time, the governor and the president proceeded to Smithfield, and on the way met the chief with a party of his people, who rode on with them.

On the 5th of October a formal meeting took place at Smithfield, but little good seemed likely to result from it, as Moshesh declared that he had not come on business but on a friendly visit. Next morning, however, Sir George Grey sent for him with his sons, Letsie, Masupha, and

Nehemiah, and a few of his principal counsellors, when he pointed out the necessity of coming to some understanding. Through fear of offending the governor, Moshesh then consented to meet Mr. Boshof again, and an arrangement was entered into between them, which was drawn up in the form of a treaty, and which provided:—

That every Mosuto entering the Free State should be furnished with a pass signed by a chief or missionary;

That hunting parties should obtain permission from the landdrost of a district before entering it;

That subjects of Moshesh disobeying these regulations should be liable to punishment by the Free State courts;

That in case of the spoor of stolen cattle being traced to any chief's location, information thereof should be given to such chief, who should follow it up;

That any further measures in connection with such cases should only take place between Moshesh, or the chief to whom the spoor was given over, and the landdrost of the district from which the cattle were stolen;

That in the event of any chief, to whose location thefts should be traced, restoring the stolen cattle and delivering the thief to be punished according to the laws of the Free State, no further compensation should be demanded; but if the thief should not be given up, the stolen property should be restored, together with a fine of four times its value;

That every such case should be settled within two months of demand being made;

That subjects of Moshesh trespassing on the farms of Free State burghers, and refusing to move when desired to do so by a fieldcornet, should be driven away by force;

That in case of dispute about the ownership of land by any burgher of the Free State, the matter should be settled by the chief and the president jointly, or by officers appointed to act for them;

That burghers of the Free State trespassing on land in the territory of Moshesh, and refusing to remove when called upon to do so, should be driven away by force.

The above were the conditions of an agreement which, if faithfully observed, would have secured peace and friendship between the people of the Free State and the Basuto. No

boundary line was referred to in them, but the clause respecting the ownership of ground met that difficulty, for the farms up to the Warden line were held under British titles, and the Free State government claimed nothing farther. Moshesh signed the agreement, as he afterwards asserted, to avoid offending Sir George Grey; but he took no trouble to observe it. There was no power to compel him to keep an agreement, and without that a document was valueless.

During this visit of Sir George Grey to the country north of the Orange, he proposed to the French missionaries to establish a training school in the Lesuto, in which schoolmasters and evangelists could be educated, and young men be instructed in such handicrafts as those of the blacksmith, carpenter, and mason. The governor had at his disposal a considerable sum of money supplied by the imperial treasury for the purpose of attempting to raise the blacks of South Africa in civilisation, and on this fund he spoke of drawing to meet the preliminary expenses. He proposed that the institution should be under the direction of the French mission. The missionaries entered heartily into the plan, and secured a suitable site by means of transfer from Moshesh; but by the time the arrangements were completed the governor found that the whole of the funds at his disposal would be required in British Kaffraria, and the design therefore fell through.

Sir George Clerk had stationed Mr. John Burnet, an old Sovereignty civil servant, at Bloemfontein, with the title of British Agent, and had been in favour of placing a similar officer with Moshesh at Thaba Bosigo. But Sir George Grey looked unfavourably upon this plan, which, in his opinion, would only cause jealousy between the Europeans and the Basuto; and in April 1855 he moved Mr. Burnet to Aliwal North, where he gave him the appointment of civil commissioner and resident magistrate, while retaining his services as a medium for obtaining information upon events occurring north of the Orange.

Witsi's people were still plundering their neighbours, and a large part of the Harrismith district, abandoned by the farmers, was overrun by them, when early in 1856 the volksraad determined to send an expedition against the marauders. Moshesh informed the president that having used all his influence in vain to induce Witsi to restore the stolen cattle, he would give that chief no assistance against the Free State forces. This course of action was in accordance with his policy of bringing all the petty chiefs in the neighbourhood of the Lesuto to acknowledge him as their head. Witsi was acting in entire independence, and thus it suited Moshesh's purpose to see him chastised.

A commando was with difficulty got together, for there was hardly a district in the state that the burghers could leave without danger of their families being attacked in their absence. In May this force, under Commandant Botha, marched against Witsi. It was accompanied by a son of Moshesh and by one of his attendants, these persons being sent by the great chief to act as mediators in case Witsi should submit. A demand of seventeen hundred head of horned cattle and three hundred horses was made upon the robber captain, as compensation for his people's thefts, with the alternative of active hostilities within twenty-four hours. This demand not being complied with, the burghers entered his country, defeated small parties of his people in a couple of skirmishes, and seized about as much stock as he had been called upon to surrender. Thereupon the commando broke up, every man returning to his home.

The dispersion of the Free State forces, before adequate punishment had been inflicted on the robbers, left the district of Harrismith at Witsi's mercy. The president then entrusted the settlement of matters there to Mr. Orpen, landdrost of Winburg and Harrismith,* who managed to get together a small commando, with which he entered Witsi's

* On the 30th of August 1855 the volksraad had resolved that Harrismith should be separated from Winburg again, but the resolution was not yet carried into effect.

country, drove out that chief's retainers, and burned their huts. The warriors of the clan as well as the women and children fled into the Lesuto, where they were received by Moshesh, who now became their protector and requested the Free State government not to punish them further. Thereafter they were regarded as members of the Basuto tribe.

For a few weeks after the agreement made by Moshesh in presence of Sir George Grey, the number of thefts along the border greatly diminished, but cattle-lifting was soon resumed on as extensive a scale as before. In March 1856 the Basuto chief in writing to the president laid claim to the country as far as a line running from Commissie Drift by the southern side of the Koesberg to the Orange river. Between this line and that of Major Warden, which the Free State claimed, the district thereafter became a scene of unchecked lawlessness. Jan Letele, Lebenya, Poshuli, Seperi, and other petty captains, though quarrelling with each other, were one in plundering and insulting the farmers. Most of these in despair abandoned their farms, went into lager, and became clamorous for open war as an evil less than that they were enduring. Moshesh as ever spoke constantly of the advantages of peace, but made no effort to suppress the hostile acts of his subjects.

While matters were in this condition, Mr. Boshof sent a deputation to Thaba Bosigo to demand the stock stolen prior to the agreement and four times the quantity stolen after that date, or the surrender of the robbers. If this demand should not be complied with, he threatened to attack the offending clans, in which case he desired the great chief not to protect them. In reply, Moshesh promised to hold an assembly of his leading men, when if they would not agree to punish the thieves and make compensation as demanded, he would leave the marauding clans to their fate. But he did not keep his word, and Mr. Boshof thought it prudent not to carry out his threat, lest a general war might be the result.

The Basuto chief was really making preparations for war, in case the farmers would not give up the disputed district. He did not fear the Free State in the least, but he was too astute to draw upon himself the enmity of the colonial government at the same time. He was therefore secretly intriguing with the coast tribes, with a view of keeping the attention of the colonists occupied nearer home, while he was endeavouring to make Sir George Grey believe that he was doing everything possible to preserve peace. So great was his power of deception that the missionary Arbousset, otherwise a very observant man, mistook a scheme of his to get the British authorities to assist in keeping his warriors together, for a peaceable design of preventing trespass over the colonial frontier. And so great was his assurance that he actually applied to the landdrost of Smithfield for a supply of guns and ammunition to enable him, as he said, to chastise the robbers.

Sir George Grey, however, was not deceived. He had agents among the Kaffir tribes at widely separated points, who placed the fact of the Basuto chief's intrigues beyond all question, though so secretly and carefully were they carried on that the details could not be ascertained. The governor informed Moshesh that he was aware of the communications passing between him and the most powerful chief on the eastern frontier, who was then destroying his cattle and corn preparatory to attacking the colony. Moshesh in reply asserted his loyalty and fidelity to the British government, flatly denied having had any intercourse with Kreli for more than three years, and appealed to President Boshof to testify in his favour. The missionary Jousse, who acted as secretary on this occasion, was so deceived that Moshesh's statements appeared to him to be worthy of credence. But though the chief managed to blind even such sensible men as Messrs. Arbousset and Jousse, who were apparently in a most favourable position for observation, but who really had no such sources of information as Sir George Grey had at command, the governor's letter convinced him that he must

act with still greater caution in future and endeavour by some means to throw the whole blame of provocation upon the farmers, he would not be left to deal with them alone.*

The demand which the president had made was for seven hundred and sixty-eight horses and five hundred and thirty-five head of horned cattle, of which the chief had restored only six horses and one hundred and forty-one head of cattle when in October 1856 the volksraad met in extraordinary session. As nothing better could be done, it was resolved to send another deputation to Thaba Bosigo. Messrs. Gerrit Visser and Jacobus Hoffman accordingly visited Moshesh and induced him to sign a document in which he undertook to deliver within one month the horses and cattle still due, and further promised to do his best to prevent robberies in future, so that the farmers might occupy their lands without being disturbed by his people. It was necessary to do something now, so to meet the first part of his engagement Moshesh called for contributions in stock from each of his vassal chieftains. He did not attempt to punish the robber clans, or even to compel them alone to make restitution. The result was that the thieving continued as before.

Early in 1857 the Basuto chief delivered to the landdrost of Smithfield one thousand three hundred and fifty-nine of the most wretched cattle in his country, but only thirty-six horses, as the tribe refused to part with animals required in war. The volksraad, however, declined to accept horned cattle in place of horses, and after deducting the number due, the remainder were sent back to Moshesh.

Leaving now for a time the wearisome disputes with the Basuto, the difficulties with the Griquas on the opposite side of the republic claim attention.

* There are very few instances indeed in South African history of missionaries detecting preparations for war which were being made all around them. On nearly every occasion when an outbreak has occurred, they have been taken completely by surprise. Some curious instances of their having been led astray by appearances are given with the utmost candour by the French missionaries in their *Journal*.

The Free State government, acting upon the report of the commission appointed in April 1854, admitted the pretensions of the captains Nicholas Waterboer and Cornelis Kok to the ground between the Modder and Orange rivers up to the western boundary of Adam Kok's reserve, that is the line from Ramah to David's Graf. In August 1855 the volksraad resolved to employ a surveyor to place beacons along that line. The contending captains then requested Adam Kok to act as arbitrator, and he, in October 1855, divided the district between them by a boundary thereafter termed the Vetberg line. By this division the right of Cornelis Kok to a tract of land along the southern bank of the Modder was acknowledged, but Waterboer obtained much the larger share of the territory in dispute.

There were two farms and part of a third held by Europeans under British titles along Waterboer's side of the Vetberg line, but the Free State, in confirming the settlement, excluded these from his territory. This alteration of Adam Kok's award was necessary, because it was a fundamental law of Waterboer's clan — laid down by the missionaries in former times, and since rigidly adhered to —not to dispose of land to Europeans. Within the territory enclosed by the Vaal, the Orange, and the Vetberg line thus rectified, Waterboer was thereafter recognised as possessing sovereign rights as well as ownership of the ground. This arrangement was one of convenience, as it could be of no advantage to the Free State government to retain dominion over waste lands — as these were then — with no proprietary rights or likelihood of ever obtaining any.

With Cornelis Kok and his clan it was different. They were always ready to sell ground on the Free State side of the Vaal when purchasers offered, and Europeans had long been scattered over the country north of the Vetberg line. The principle acted upon by Sir Harry Smith and the Sovereignty government was therefore retained in their case. Their right of property in the ground still unsold was

admitted, but dominion over it and everyone living upon it was kept by the Free State government just as transferred to them by Sir George Clerk. The captain and nearly the whole of the clan lived at Campbell, beyond the Vaal, and there they were regarded as entirely independent.

During this time several changes had taken place in the district offices. Mr. P. M. Bester had declined to accept the appointment of landdrost of Bloemfontein, and Mr. J. A. Smellekamp was then selected by President Hoffman to act until the volksraad should meet. In August 1855 he was confirmed in the appointment, but was superseded in October 1856 by Mr. C. van Dyk van Soelen.* At the same time Mr. Ford, landdrost of Smithfield, was superseded by Mr. John Sauer, and Mr J. M. Orpen was succeeded at Winburg by Mr. James Michael Howell. Mr. G. P. Visser, provisional landdrost of Fauresmith, was replaced by Mr. J. S. Marais, and Mr. M. Cauvin was appointed landdrost of Harrismith.

In August 1857 the president proposed to the volksraad that an officer with the title of resident justice of the peace should be stationed at each of the new villages of Kroonstad and Boshof. The last-named village occupied the site previously known as Van Wyk's Vlei. It had recently been founded as a church centre, the first building lots having been sold on the 6th of April 1856. The proposal of the president was agreed to. Mr. Louis G. Rosa was appointed to Kroonstad, and Mr. F. Nauhaus to Boshof.

In September 1854 the volksraad resolved that the president and executive council should constitute a supreme court of appeal. For a population so small as that of the Free State, the judicial establishments were now held to be ample.

* Mr. Smellekamp from this date until his death practised as an agent-at-law in Bloemfontein, and succeeded in establishing a large business in that capacity. For several years prior to his decease he was one of the most respected members of the volksraad. He closed an eventful life on the 25th of May 1866.

CHAPTER LI.

EVENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC FROM 1854 TO 1857.

NORTH of the Vaal river, for several years after the death of Commandant-General Andries Pretorius confusion and discord were rife. The exhortation to work together in harmony, delivered to the military officers by their ablest and most influential leader from his deathbed, was completely disregarded. The government was so weak that to many persons it must seem a misnomer to call it a government at all. Practically it had no revenue, except a trifling sum paid as land tax by some of the farmers when they felt so disposed. There was no police. Yet there was very little crime, and neither person nor property was in danger, except from tribes of Bantu.

On one or two occasions, however, violent party feeling caused acts of injustice to be perpetrated by the legal tribunals. The most prominent case of this kind occurred in connection with Mr. J. A. Smellekamp, who was a friend of the party under Potgieter's leadership. The volksraad which met at Rustenburg in June 1854, consisting chiefly of adherents of Pretorius, brought him to trial on a charge of having slandered the reverend Dirk van der Hoff and the consistory of Potchefstroom, and fined him £37 10s. This was followed by his banishment from the republic, in pursuance of a sentence of the landdrost of Potchefstroom on the 11th of July. Mr. Smellekamp retired to Bloemfontein, where he soon became a leading citizen.

The white population was increasing, though not very rapidly, by fresh arrivals from the Cape Colony. In June 1855 the volksraad threw open the country to immigrants

from any part of Europe, on condition that they should bring certificates of good character from the government under which they had previously lived. They were not to be entitled to hold landed property, to fill situations in the public service, or to exercise electoral privileges, before obtaining burgher rights; but these they could acquire by payment of £15 to the public treasury. Only a few individuals from the Netherlands availed themselves of the offer, however; for to the vast majority of the people of Europe even the existence of the republic was unknown.

In 1854 an event of a peculiarly horrible nature took place in the southern part of the district of Zoutpansberg.

At the eastern extremity of the Waterberg is a tract of rugged country through which flows northward a stream termed the Nyl by the first explorers, who in their ignorance of geography fancied they had reached the head waters of the river of Egypt. In this district the scattered members of a clan termed the Batlou, an offshoot of the Barolong tribe, that had been dispersed and nearly destroyed by the Mantati horde, and had subsequently suffered much from the Matabele, had recently collected together again under a chief named Makapané, or Makapan as he was called by the farmers. These people had been brutalised by the sufferings they had gone through in their old home in the south, and as soon as they recovered a little strength in the fastnesses of their new abode they commenced to prey upon their weaker neighbours. Makapan, their chief, was of a ferocious disposition, and had caused such havoc that he had acquired among the people of his own race as far as he was known the designation of the man of blood.

Towards the close of the winter of 1854 a hunting party, at the head of which was Fieldcornet Hermanus Potgieter, a brother of the late commandant-general Hendrik Potgieter, visited Makapan with a view of trading with him for ivory. Laws relating to intercourse between Europeans and blacks, enacted by the volksraad during recent years, prohibited barter of any kind under penalty of a fine of £37 10s. and

confiscation of all property so obtained. It was illegal even to receive a present from a black, except under special circumstances, and in such cases information was at once to be given to the nearest landdrost. The hunting party was therefore acting in violation of the law of the country, the object of which was to prevent any occurrence that might provoke a quarrel.

Hermanus Potgieter was a man of violent temper and rough demeanour, and it may be that some expression or act of his gave offence to Makapan's people. Stories were afterwards set in circulation by unfriendly newspaper correspondents that the white hunters conducted themselves in a most outrageous manner, demanding oxen and sheep for slaughter without payment, and forcing the blacks to give them several children for slaves. But upon investigation these stories are found to rest on conjecture only, and it does not seem probable that a few white men would have ventured to act in this manner at the kraal of a warlike chief.

It is easy to irritate Africans, and even to excite them to frenzy, by acts that to Europeans appear harmless or crimes of no great magnitude. The Gaikas who in 1850 committed a cruel massacre on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony believe to the present day that it was no more than just punishment for the violation of the grave of the chief Tshali by some of the Woburn villagers. That the majority of those who were murdered were innocent of participation in disturbing the grave does not affect the case in the Bantu way of thinking; it is sufficient that they were associates or friends of those who did it. The theory of African law is that the community is responsible for the acts of each individual composing it.

An Englishman unacquainted with the religious ideas of the people he was visiting was once at a Matabele kraal, and seeing a snake in a tree, he raised his gun to shoot it. An old hunter happened fortunately to be close by, and struck up the gun just in time. Had that snake been

shot, no torture that could be inflicted would have been considered by the Matabele sufficient punishment for the offender and his companions, because the chief believed that the spirit of one of his ancestors was present in the reptile. According to their views, the infliction of death would have been a just and proper punishment, though white people would certainly have regarded it, had it taken place, as unprovoked and causeless murder.

Many instances of this kind might be mentioned, arising from thoughtlessness, disregard of Bantu ideas, or ignorance. But whether this was the case with Potgieter's party—whether offence was unwittingly given, or whether violent language was used or violent conduct displayed—cannot be positively stated, for the accounts given by Makapan's people are varied and conflicting. The immediate actors perished before their evidence could be obtained.

Thirteen men and ten women and children composed the hunting party. Their waggons were outspanned at Makapan's kraal, and, according to statements made some time afterwards by members of the clan, at the chief's invitation Potgieter went to look at some ivory which was said to be on a neighbouring hill. He had hardly left when the Europeans at the waggons were attacked, and all—women and children included—were murdered. Potgieter was put to death in a shocking manner. From information given by the blacks, it was ascertained that he was flayed alive; and his skin, prepared in the same way as that of a wild animal, was afterwards made into a kaross. The evidence is conflicting as to certain horrible mutilations of the bodies of the others, and it is uncertain whether they took place before or after death. There perished on this occasion the entire families of Willem Prinsloo and Jan Olivier, in all twelve persons, M. A. Venter and his son W. Venter, H. Potgieter, and eight other white men.

Immediately after the massacre Makapan's people were joined by six other clans, who commenced to pillage the country in their neighbourhood. The white inhabitants of

the southern part of the district of Zoutpansberg had barely time to take shelter in lagers before their homes were in flames. The people of Rustenburg also thought it prudent to abandon their farms and retire to lagers, one of which was formed in the village and another at the homestead of Mr. Paul Kruger, about five miles or eight kilometres distant.

As soon as the helpless members of the community were in positions of safety, Commandant-General P. G. Potgieter took the field with a force of one hundred and thirty-five men. Marching without delay to the kraal where the murders had been committed, at the place which is still called Makapan's Poort, he found that the hostile clans had taken shelter in caverns where it was impossible to reach them. The mangled remains of the victims to the ferocity of the barbarians were discovered in various places, and the sight of the dismembered bodies caused a fierce resolve to be made by the burghers that punishment for the crime should be complete.

The people of Lydenburg could not move from their own district, but the burghers of Potchefstroom were called out. The church at Potchefstroom was enclosed with an earthen bank, and as soon as this simple fortress was completed Commandant-General M. W. Pretorius marched by the way of Rustenburg, his force increasing as he advanced, so that he arrived at Makapan's Poort with four hundred men. South of the Vaal very little aid could be given, for it behoved everyone there to keep an eye on Moshesh; but a quantity of gunpowder was supplied, and a little later Mr. A. J. Erwee and a few others proceeded to the assistance of Mr. Pretorius with forty-seven horses contributed by the people of Bloemfontein. Mr. W. Hartley, Dr. Way, and three other Englishmen from Smithfield joined the burgher force.

On the 25th of October, the day after the junction of the commandos, an attack was made upon a cavern some six hundred and ten metres or two thousand feet in length

by a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty metres in width, in which Makapan's people had taken shelter. The gloom inside was so intense that the burghers could see nothing, but from the recesses fire was opened upon them, by which one man—Jan Erasmus by name—was killed and two others were wounded. It was then determined to blockade the place so that no one could get out, and wait the results of famine.

On the 6th of November the two commandants-general were standing close to each other in front of the cavern, when a musket ball struck Mr. Potgieter in the right shoulder, and, passing through his neck, killed him instantly. Fieldcornet Paul Kruger ran to the aid of his friend, and finding him dead, carried the body away. An attempt to smoke the enemy out was made, but failed. The mouth of the cavern was then partly blocked up with brushwood and stones, and a strong guard was set over it. The remainder of the force was sent out under Mr. Paul Kruger and other able officers to scour the surrounding country.

The inmates of the cavern soon felt the want of water, and many of them tried to make their way out at night, but were shot down in the attempt. It was a cruel deed that was being performed, but the burghers were determined to make a terrible example of Makapan's people. The blockade lasted twenty-five days. Then a party of the besiegers entered the cavern, and met with so little resistance that they took complete possession with only four men slightly wounded. They found passages leading from the great hall and running away under the mountain to unknown distances, but the horrible stench from the putrifying bodies and the difficulty of exploring with the dim lights which they carried prevented them from proceeding far.

Mr. Pretorius estimated that nine hundred persons had been killed outside the cavern, and more than double that number had perished of thirst within it. Makapan's clan was almost annihilated.

The horse sickness, which is prevalent in that district during the summer, was making such havoc that the commando could not keep the field any longer. The other clans which had risen could not therefore be attacked, but it was believed that the punishment inflicted on Makapan would deter them from committing any acts of violence against Europeans for a long time to come. On the 30th of November the camps were broken up, and the burghers returned to their farms.

Upon the death of Mr. P. G. Potgieter, Mr. Stephanus Schoeman was appointed commandant-general of Zoutpansberg. There were then north of the Vaal three commandants-general—M. W. Pretorius, W. F. Joubert, and S. Schoeman —each of whom was jealous of the power of the others. Their partisans were continually carrying on a strife of words.

But this was as nothing when compared with the ecclesiastical discord. The country was convulsed with a question that to persons at a distance must appear utterly unimportant: whether the church of the republic should be connected with the synod of the Cape Colony, or not. Many of the burghers, however, believed that their independence might be affected by it. They asserted that Sir Harry Smith had once said that if he could not conquer them with the sword, he would do it with the word, meaning thereby the influence of colonial clergymen, and they wished therefore to be as little connected with any institution in the Cape Colony as possible. A visit of the reverend Messrs. Neethling and Louw, two clergymen who had been deputed by the Cape synod to visit the country and conduct services, was held by this party to be uncalled-for interference, as they had not asked for aid of this kind and were not in need of it. There was only one clergyman to minister to the whole people, but there was a consistory in each district, and it was maintained by some that the elders of these could combine and constitute a synod, if they chose to do so.

The strife commenced at a church meeting which took place at Rustenburg on the 8th of August 1853, and which was presided over by the reverend Dirk van der Hoff. This meeting resolved that no religious community other than the Dutch Reformed church should be tolerated or allowed to build places of worship within the republic; that the church in the republic should be independent of the synod of the Cape Colony; and that every male over twenty years of age and every female over sixteen should pay three shillings yearly towards its support.

These resolutions were discussed by every household in the country. Liberal-minded men were strongly opposed to the first, but there were not wanting many who as strongly supported it. Yet so inconsistent were these that they declared themselves ready to welcome Moravian and Lutheran missionaries among the heathen. There was no objection to the third resolution. But the second was a question which divided the people into two factions, and which was discussed with as much bitterness in 1857 as four years earlier. This ecclesiastical dispute brought on a change in the political condition of the country.

Before 1857 the people north of the Vaal had no formal and clearly worded constitution such as that which had been framed by the first volksraad of the Orange Free State. Those under the leadership formerly of Potgieter, now of Joubert and Schoeman, considered themselves bound by a code of laws usually termed THE THIRTY-THREE ARTICLES, which had been drawn up and adopted by the volksraad at Potchefstroom on the 9th of April 1844, shortly before the removal of that party to the districts of Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg. In this code stringent laws and simple regulations of court are intermingled as if they were of equal weight, and there is no literary taste displayed in its composition; but it bears evidence of sound common sense throughout.

By an assembly of delegates of the different parties north of the Vaal, which met at Derde Poort on the 23rd of

May 1849 and agreed upon union, this code was adopted and termed a constitution; but in point of fact the arrangement then made did not lead to consolidation, so that the majority of the people of Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, and Pretoria—a new town and district established in November 1855 and named after the late commandant-general—practically accepted no more of the thirty-three articles than pleased them. These considered the enactments of the volksraad in Natal, made before their removal from that country, as binding upon them still; while the people of Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg repudiated such enactments.

The partisans of Mr. Pretorius, or, in other words, those who were in favour of a strong central government, had for some time past been discussing the advisability of adopting a constitution like that of the Free State. The other party, or those who favoured a number of district governments allied rather than cemented together, brought forward many objections to this project. The party lines of difference of opinion in ecclesiastical matters coincided with those of difference of opinion in political matters, so that the division was very clear and distinct. One side was in favour of a single government with subordinate district courts of law and a church independent of foreign control, the other side favoured district legislative councils allied for purposes of defence and a church connected with the Cape synod.

In 1855 the volksraad met in session at Elands River, and a petition was presented asking for the appointment of a committee to draft a new constitution. The adherents of Mr. Pretorius being in a majority, this was agreed to, and a committee of three members was appointed for the purpose, one of whom was Mr. Paul Kruger. In every important event in the history of the country this determined, courageous, and highly intelligent, but illiterate man was an actor, even to the framing of the constitution, though he was as ignorant of jurisprudence as a little child.

An educated Hollander named Jacobus Stuart, who was visiting the country in the interests of a trading association,

was appointed secretary to the committee, and he drew up the resolutions of the members in correct language and arranged them in order. Then Mr. Pretorius made a tour through the districts of Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, and Pretoria, and submitted the draft to meetings of the burghers at all the centres of population. It was generally well received, so immediately afterwards a representative assembly of twenty-four members, one for each fieldcornetcy, was elected for the special purpose of adopting it with any modifications that might be considered advisable, and of appointing the officials that were to form the new executive branch of the government. It had no other powers.

The assembly met at Potchefstroom on the 16th of December 1856, and during a session of nearly three weeks made several changes in the original draft. As finally adopted, the constitution provided that the country should be termed the South African Republic, dropping the words "north of the Vaal river," which had been added to that title by a resolution of the volksraad on the 21st of November 1853, when the territory to the south was still part of the British dominions. Now that there was some hope of the people of the Orange Free State being induced to unite with those north of the Vaal, it was regarded as expedient to omit the limiting part of the former name.

The legislative authority was vested in a council to be termed a volksraad, which should meet at least once a year. The members of this council were to be elected by the people, and hold their seats for two years. They were to be over thirty years of age, electors of three years standing, and members of the Dutch Reformed church. They were to be owners of landed property within the republic, and never have been convicted of crime. Father and son, brothers and half-brothers, could not be members at the same time. They were to be of European blood. At the end of twelve months half the members first chosen were to retire, the names to be selected by lot; and fresh elections were then to take place, so that thereafter half would retire yearly

in regular order. Twelve members were to form a quorum. The ordinary sessions were to commence on the first Friday of every September.

The administrative authority was to be entrusted to a president, who was to be advised by an executive council. The president was to be chosen by the people, and was to hold office for five years. The qualifications of this officer were that he should be an elector of five years standing, a member of the Dutch Reformed church, never have been convicted of crime, and over thirty years of age. All public servants were to be subject to his authority, except in the administration of justice. While president, he could not hold another office or engage in trade, neither could he leave the republic without permission from the volksraad. The volksraad could deprive him of office after trial and conviction of serious crime, when the oldest member of the executive council was to act until a new election.

The executive council was to consist of the president, the government secretary, and two burghers who were to be appointed by the volksraad. All were to have a right of debate in the volksraad, but not a right to vote.

All measures proposed to be brought before the volksraad by the executive branch of the government were to be published three months before the commencement of the session, in order that the burghers might have an opportunity to discuss them and make their wishes known.

There was to be only one commandant-general for the whole republic, who was to be purely a military officer, and receive his instructions from the president in time of war. He was to be elected by those burghers who were capable of bearing arms and liable to military service. He was to have a right of debate in the volksraad, but not a vote. He was to have a seat in the executive council whenever matters relating to war were discussed.

The republic was to be divided into fieldcornetcies, each to consist of sixty to one hundred and twenty households. Every group of six fieldcornetcies was to have a commandant.

The republic was also to be divided into convenient districts for judicial and fiscal purposes. Each district was to have a landdrost and board of heemraden, who were to be elected by the people.

The revenue was to be derived from profits on the sale of ammunition — which for the sake of safety was to be a monopoly of the government,*—from licenses, transfer dues, fines and fees of court, a tax of 1*s.* yearly on every fifty head of horned cattle, and land tax at the rate of 7*s.* 6*d.* to 30*s.* on each farm, according to quality. Absentee landholders were to pay double taxes.

The boundaries of the republic were not defined. Potchefstroom was to be the seat of government.

In ecclesiastical matters, the constitution declared that it was the desire of the people to preserve the religious teaching of the Dutch Reformed church, as this was defined in the years 1618 and 1619 by the synod at Dordrecht. The people preferred to allow no Romish churches among them, nor any other Protestant churches than those in which the same principles of religion were taught as are set forth in the Heidelberg catechism. No other ecclesiastical authorities would be recognised than the consistories of the Dutch Reformed church. It was desirable that the gospel should be taught to the heathen; but under such precautions as would prevent them from being misled or deceived. No equality of coloured people with the white inhabitants would be tolerated, either in church or state.

The press was declared free. Slavery was prohibited.

* This was enacted in order to keep the Bantu tribes from acquiring munitions of war. On the 19th of September 1853 a law was passed by the volksraad forbidding the sale of guns or ammunition to blacks under penalty of confiscation of all property in possession of offenders and in extreme cases of death, but it had not been effectual in stopping the trade. It was hoped that by making the sale of ammunition a government monopoly and by compelling hunters from the south to make use of the eastern roads only, this might be accomplished. Any one who reads Mr. Gordon Cumming's book will admit that such an enactment was necessary to prevent constant war with the Bantu.

The constitution provided that no treaty or alliance could be concluded with foreign powers, except after the people of the republic had been called together by the president and the executive council, when the arrangement proposed could be approved of or rejected by a majority of those who should attend. With this exception, that in time of great danger or war the president, with the consent of a council composed of all the military officers, could form a treaty or alliance with a foreign power.

The salaries of public servants were stated in the constitution. The president was to be paid £300 a year, which was to be increased to £400 when the condition of the revenue would permit it. The clergyman was to be paid £225, the commandant-general £200, the state secretary and the landdrost of Potchefstroom each £150, the landdrosts of the other districts each £100, the members of the executive council and the clerk to the landdrost of Potchefstroom each £75, the clerks to the other landdrosts each £45, the commandants each £20, and the fieldcornets each £15 a year.

On the 5th of January 1857 the representative assembly by twenty-one votes against three chose the following officers:—

Marthinus Wessel Pretorius to be president of the republic.

Jan Hendrik Visagie to be state secretary and *ex officio* member of the executive council.

H. S. Lombard and M. A. Goetz to be members of the executive council.

D. Botha to be landdrost of Potchefstroom.

Stephanus Schoeman to be commandant-general. This appointment was made with the express object of conciliating the Zoutpansberg people.

The representative assembly appointed a committee of twelve to instal the newly appointed officers and issue writs for the election of a volksraad under the constitution just adopted. It chose a new flag: the Batavian tricolour—three

horizontal bars, red upper, white central, and blue lower—with a green vertical stripe at the inner end. The representative assembly then declared its labours completed.

On the 6th of January the president, the members of the executive council, and the landdrost took the oaths of office and were installed by the committee with much ceremony. The new flag was raised and saluted, after a blessing had been invoked upon it by the reverend Mr. Van der Hoff.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg there was a violent outburst of indignation. At a public meeting at Zoutpansberg, held on the 29th of January, the acts and resolutions of the representative assembly at Potchefstroom were almost unanimously repudiated. Mr. Schoeman declined to accept office under Mr. Pretorius. A manifesto was drawn up and signed by S. Schoeman, A. C. Duvenhage, landdrost of Zoutpansberg, Commandant J. H. Jacobs, and seven others, disowning the new constitution and everything connected with it.

On the 17th of February the committee appointed by the representative assembly instructed Messrs. Pretorius and Goetz to proceed to Bloemfontein and arrange matters there. President Boshof had published the draft of a bill concerning burgher rights, which was to be brought before the Free State volksraad, and the Transvaal people professed to believe that it would affect them adversely. The real object of the mission of Messrs. Pretorius and Goetz to the Free State was to endeavour to bring about the union of the two countries. It was hoped that those farmers south of the Vaal who were in favour of a single republic would welcome Mr. Pretorius, and that they would prove to be the great majority of the people.

During the absence of Mr. Pretorius, Mr. H. S. Lombard acted as president. With the concurrence of the other members of the executive council and of the committee appointed by the representative assembly, on the 18th of February he issued a proclamation deposing Commandant-General Schoeman from all authority, declaring Zoutpansberg

in a state of blockade, and prohibiting traders from supplying "the rebels" with ammunition or anything else.

The volksraad under the old system of government was to have met at Lydenburg on the 17th of December 1856. At the appointed time, however, no members for the other districts appeared. What was transpiring at Potchefstroom was well known, and a resolution was therefore adopted declaring the district a sovereign and independent state, under the name of the Republic of Lydenburg. The volksraad was pronounced to be the highest authority. The boundaries of the new republic were declared to be: on the north the Olifants river and a straight line from the great curve in that stream to the southern end of Waterberg; on the west a line from the southern end of Waterberg to the Eland's river, that river to its source, thence the high lands to the source of the Olifants river, and thence a straight line due south to the Vaal; on the south the Vaal and the northern boundary of Natal to Panda's country. On the east the boundary was not defined otherwise than that the republic was declared to include the district of Utrecht and the land purchased on the 25th of July 1846 and 21st of July 1855 by W. F. Joubert and others from Swazi the son of Sapusa.*

* The last of these transactions will be referred to in another chapter. The first, or purchase of the 25th of July 1846, conveyed to W. F. Joubert, J. van Rensburg, L. de Jager, and five others, for the emigrant farmers, the territory between the Olifants river on the north, the Crocodile river on the south, the Eland's river on the west, and a line forming the Portuguese boundary and passing through the junction of the Crocodile and Komati rivers on the east. The price paid was one hundred head of horned cattle, and the seller was Swazi, son of Sapusa, chief of the powerful coast tribe now called by his name. The emigrant farmers held that the deed of sale was a good title, because the Swazis had once overrun the district and offered when disposing of the ground to clear it of every individual of the Bapedi and kindred tribes. But the Swazis were not then in occupation of it, and Manikusa or Moselekatse could have set up exactly the same claim. The true title under which the Europeans held the district was the fact of beneficial occupation, of possession taken at a time when it was war-swept and the Bapedi and other former owners were so scattered and wasted as to have lost the power of holding it against the

It was resolved to invite Zoutpansberg to join Lydenburg. To the invitation Commandant-General Schoeman replied that deputies would be sent from Zoutpansberg to discuss a basis of union as soon as matters became more settled, as it was the desire of the people of his district to preserve their connection with Lydenburg.

The boundaries declared by the volksraad of Lydenburg included the district of Utrecht, whose inhabitants had previously claimed to be independent of all authority not emanating from themselves. This district bordered on Zululand and Natal. Possession of it had been taken in 1848, with Panda's consent, by a party of farmers who moved from the uplands between the Tugela and Buffalo rivers, in order to be free of British rule. The few hundred Europeans who occupied it were without a resident clergyman, but in 1854 a consistory had been formed, and after that date the minister of Ladismith, in Natal, acted as consulent and held services every three months. Between the people of Utrecht and those of Lydenburg there was strong sympathy, both in ecclesiastical and political matters. Negotiations for union were shortly commenced, and were concluded on the 8th of May 1858, when the two states became one.

In March 1857 the volksraad of Lydenburg issued a manifesto repeating the declaration of independence, and inviting Europeans of all nationalities to settle in the country, offering them full political privileges and land for nothing.

Within the boundaries of this republic was the territory occupied by the Bapedi* tribe under the chief Sekwati, who

tribes of the coast. Swazi's object was to make friends of the conquerors of Dingan, and he must have regarded the hundred head of cattle as a mere present.

* Bapedi, Baperi, or Bapeli, the d, r, and l being interchangeable, some clans using one, some another of these letters. The tribe, like so many others in South Africa, was composite, but most of its members were of the Bakwena family. It derived its title from a chief named Moperi, Mopedi, or Mopeli, and the majority of its members had as siboko the porcupine, not the hyena as the title seems to denote.

had submitted to Commandant-General Hendrik Potgieter in 1846, but had successfully resisted an attempt to disarm his people in 1852. The government of Lydenburg sent Messrs. C. T. van Niekerk and F. C. Combrink as a commission to confer with him upon the extent of the reserve within which he would be permitted to exercise authority, and on the 17th of November 1857 an arrangement was made that he should have the district between the Olifants and Steelpoort rivers. He promised to restore stolen cattle brought within this reserve and to punish thieves. This agreement, which was drawn up in writing and confirmed by President P. J. Coetzer and the executive council of the republic of Lydenburg on the 9th of the following December, placed Sekwati in a similar position to that occupied by a powerful baron in England in feudal times.

Messrs. Pretorius and Goetz, with a retinue of ten Transvaal farmers and forty Free State citizens who had joined them on the way, arrived at Bloemfontein on the 22nd of February 1857. The following day was the third anniversary of the Orange Free State's independence, and the volksraad, which was then in session, had adopted a programme for its celebration. This included a procession from the council chamber to the fort, where a flag designed by King William III of the Netherlands, and adopted by the volksraad on the 28th of February 1856, was to be formally hoisted and saluted, and a coat of arms was to be suspended above the chair of the presiding officer in the council. The flag had four white and three orange horizontal stripes, alternately placed, with the Batavian tricolour in the upper corner next the staff, all the stripes being of the same width. A coat of arms designed by the king could not be adopted, because one had already been engraved and used as a public seal. This had upon it an orange tree with the word Vrijheid (liberty) above it, some sheep beneath it on one side with the word Geduld (patience) below and a lion on the other with the word Moed (courage) similarly placed; at the bottom was a waggon with the word Immigratie (immigration) beneath it. This being already in use was retained, but

three hunting horns on the coat of arms designed by the king of Holland—ancient badges of the house of Orange—were added to it by resolution of the volksraad on the 28th of February 1856, and were placed on the outer side, two above and one below.

Though no official notice of the visit of Messrs. Pretorius and Goetz had been made to the government, these gentlemen were invited to accompany the procession from the council chamber to the fort and be present at the ceremony of hoisting the national flag for the first time. Mr. Pretorius declined to do so, as such an act would interfere with his views.

On the 24th there was a sharp altercation between the volksraad and the Transvaal officers. It transpired that Mr. Pretorius had sent a message to Moshesh, inviting the chief to a conference at Bloemfontein; and, as being the heir of Commandant-General Andries Pretorius, he made pretensions to authority in the state, which could not be admitted. On the 25th the volksraad issued a proclamation repudiating the claims of Mr. Pretorius, and twenty-four hours were allowed to him and Mr. Goetz to leave Bloemfontein. The Transvaal officers then proceeded to Natal, but the advocates of union continued the agitation. Some of them were therefore called to account for sedition.

On the 7th of March the committee appointed by the representative assembly, calling itself a "commissie volksraad," met at Potchefstroom. The Free State government sent a messenger to request the committee to disown the proceedings of Mr. Pretorius, but that body replied approving of them. Acting President Lombard's proclamation deposing Mr. Schoeman from the office of commandant-general was ratified, and Mr. J. F. Dreyer was appointed in his stead.

On the 15th of April the new commandant-general and the council of war addressed a letter to the authorities at Bloemfontein, announcing that if the charge of sedition was pressed against the partisans of Mr. Pretorius, they would call out an armed force and march to the protection of the

persons prosecuted. The Free State government had detained five hundred and forty-four kilogrammes of lead which was in transit, and this was declared a hostile act.

Eight days after the letter was written, the threat which it contained was put into execution. An armed but not very formidable force crossed the Vaal and entered the district of Winburg, where it was joined by a number of advocates of union. The leaders of this party in the Free State were Messrs. Carel Frederik Geere and Hendrik Erasmus. Mr. Pretorius hastened to put himself at the head of the commando.

When intelligence of the invasion reached Bloemfontein, President Boshof issued a proclamation declaring martial law in force throughout the Free State, and calling out the burghers for the defence of the country. It soon appeared that the majority of the people were ready to support the president, and from all quarters men repaired to Kroonstad, a village recently laid out on the False river, where a camp was being formed. President Boshof himself was there. Commandant-General Schoeman, of Zoutpansberg, sent a messenger to propose an alliance against Mr. Pretorius, in which object he believed Lydenburg would also join. He stated that he could muster from eight hundred to a thousand men.

From Kroonstad the Free State forces marched to a camp near the Vaal, where there were assembled, under Commandant-General Frederik Senekal, four commandants, twenty-four fieldcornets, and six hundred and eighty-five burghers, also twenty-one armed and one hundred and sixty-three unarmed blacks.

Mr. Pretorius caused his followers, numbering from two hundred and fifty to three hundred men, to encamp on two hills on the southern side of the Vaal. His partisans in the Free State did not come to his aid in such numbers as he anticipated, and he had the mortification of learning that Carel Geere and five others who were foremost in maintaining his cause had been arrested and were prisoners in President

Boshof's camp; and further that Commandant-General Schoeman, of Zoutpansberg, and Commandant-General Joubert, of Lydenburg, were ready to join the Free State against him.

On the 25th of May the two commandos were drawn up facing each other on opposite banks of the Rhenoster river, and remained in that position for three hours. On both sides there was great aversion to a combat, for there were literally brothers, cousins, and other near relatives under the opposing standards. The northern army could not hope for success, and so Mr. Pretorius sent Commandant Paul Kruger with a flag of truce to propose that a pacific settlement should be made. This was gladly acceded to, and twelve deputies were thereupon appointed on each side to arrange the conditions of peace.

On the 27th of May the army of Mr. Pretorius recrossed the Vaal, and the negotiations were commenced. On the 2nd of June a formal treaty was signed. It is worded as follows:—

1. The deputies of the Orange Free State, in the name of the government of the said state, acknowledge the South African Republic to the north of the Vaal river to be free and independent, as well as the right of its inhabitants to establish such government within the same as they shall think proper.

2. The deputies of the South African Republic, in the name of its people and government, acknowledge the Orange Free State, within its boundaries as they existed under the administration of the British government, as free and independent, and also the right of its inhabitants to establish such government therein as they shall think proper.

3. The deputies above mentioned acknowledge the right of both states to make their own laws, both ecclesiastical and political, and to carry them out within their respective limits, in the same manner as is universally practised and recognised among all civilised and independent countries.

4. The deputies of the Orange Free State desire from the deputies of the South African Republic, in the name of its government, a declaration that the attempt made by their president, his Honour Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, to ignore, render powerless, and annul the existing authority of the Orange Free State, and excite rebellion against the existing government on the part of its own lawful subjects, is an illegal

and blameworthy deed, and a promise that the same will never again be permitted or supported on the side of the government of the South African Republic; acknowledging the right of every people, in the event of such intermeddling, to demand proper satisfaction, and in case of refusal to compel the transgressor thereto by force of arms. The deputies of the South African Republic acknowledge that they can find nothing in the documents laid before them which gives a claim to the lands of the Orange Free State, or the right to interfere in the government; and if they find that the criminatory documents laid before them cannot be refuted by sufficient proofs (which may by possibility exist, but of which they are at this moment unaware), they are compelled to regard the conduct of their government as blameworthy. They at the same time fully guarantee, as previously acknowledged, that they neither can nor will make any claim to the Orange Free State, and consequently that they will not allow such at any time to be made.

5. On the ratification of this treaty of peace, the deputies promise, in the name of the government of the Orange Free State, to exert their influence with the commandants Schoeman and Joubert, to induce them to lay down the arms which they have probably already taken up against the government of the South African Republic; and the deputies of the South African Republic declare themselves on their side disposed to conclude such terms, with Messrs. Schoeman and Joubert as shall be calculated to effect and consolidate peace between them.

6. The deputies of both states promise to act with the greatest indulgence in the punishment of seditious persons, after a proper inquiry into their offences before the courts of both states. The deputies of the South African Republic further promise to exert their influence with such inhabitants of the Free State as may have already taken up arms against their state, to cause them to lay them down.

7. The deputies of the Orange Free State promise, in the name of the government of said state, to grant and extend within their state the same rights and privileges to the burghers and subjects of the South African Republic as are or shall be afforded to those of the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, and no more; provided that such rights and privileges be also reciprocally granted and extended by the South African Republic to the Free State.

8. The deputies of both states are agreed that the president or chief administrative head of each state shall not have the right to visit the state or territory of the other without previous notice being given.

9. The property which has been thus far seized since the commencement of hostilities shall be delivered up.

10. The foregoing articles having been agreed to by the deputies on both sides, peace is hereby concluded and established between the South African Republic to the north of the Vaal river and the Orange Free State.

On behalf of the Orange Free State:

J. J. Venter,
H. J. Joubert,
J. J. Klopper,
F. P. Schnehage,
E. Brouwer,
} Members of the Volksraad.

F. J. Senekal, Commandant-General,
Michiel van der Walt, Commandant,
G. H. van der Walt, Commandant,
L. J. Papenfus, Fieldcornet,
A. J. Bester, Fieldcornet,
D. B. Grobbelaar, Fieldcornet,
C. J. du Plooy, Justice of the Peace,
L. van Foreest, Secretary.

On behalf of the South African Republic:

J. F. Dreyer, Commandant-General,
S. J. P. Kruger, Commandant,
J. P. Pretorius, Commandant,
M. J. Viljoen, Commandant,
J. H. M. Struben, Commandant,
C. J. Bodenstein, Fieldcornet,
J. H. Nel, Fieldcornet,
D. H. Botha, Landdrost,
J. H. Grobbelaar,
J. C. van der Merwe,
D. A. Botha,
H. S. Lombard,
J. H. Visagie, Secretary.

Approved and confirmed by the Executive Council at the camp at Vaal River, 1st June 1857.

M. W. Pretorius, President,
H. S Lombard, Member of the Executive Council.

Approved and confirmed at the Vaal river, Orange Free State, the 1st of June 1857, by the Executive Council.

J. N. Boshof, State President and Chairman,
J. J. Venter,
H. J. Joubert,
} Members.

On the 4th of June the Free State burghers were disbanded at Kroonstad.

Many citizens of the Free State who had joined the northern forces moved over the Vaal after this event. Those who remained and those who had been previously arrested

were brought to trial for high treason. Carel Geere was sentenced to death, but, in accordance with the sixth clause of the treaty, this sentence was mitigated to a fine of £150. A good many others were fined from £25 to £150 each. In September Messrs. S. J. P. Kruger and J. C. Steyn visited Bloemfontein as a deputation from the government of the South African Republic, charged principally to endeavour to obtain a mitigation of these sentences. In this they were successful.

Immediately after the conclusion of peace with the Free State an attempt was made by the government of the South African Republic to effect a reconciliation with Zoutpansberg. On the 1st of July six deputies from each side met at Rietfontein near the new village of Pretoria, and agreed that all matters in dispute between them should be submitted to the decision of a court of twelve individuals chosen by the whole inhabitants, which court should sit for the purpose at Rustenburg on the 9th of November.

On the 4th of September the volksraad met at Potchefstroom. It consisted of fifteen members. It ratified the acts of the representative assembly in framing the constitution and appointing a president, and it confirmed the treaty with the Orange Free State. On the 11th it resolved to send a deputation to Rustenburg on the 9th of November, and expressed an earnest wish for reconciliation with Zoutpansberg. There had hitherto been no printing press north of the Vaal. Provision was now made for the publication of a *Gazette* to contain new laws, government notices, and other matter with which the people, and more particularly the officials, should be acquainted. The last subjects that came on for debate were the supply of ammunition to Setsheli, chief of the Bakwena, and the introduction of German missionaries.

Some time before this, Setsheli had appeared before President Pretorius, and had asked to be supplied with a missionary and with ammunition to kill game. Since the destruction of Kolobeng he had given no trouble to the republic, though he had returned to Bantu customs after Dr.

Livingstone's influence over him was broken. His frank conduct succeeded with the president, who, on the 9th of April 1857, wrote to the director of the nearest Moravian mission asking that the chief's request might be complied with. The Moravians were favoured by the farmers, because in addition to giving religious instruction they taught their pupils to be industrious and cleanly in their habits, and did not encourage ideas of social equality with civilised people. The idea that a converted black man should be regarded as in every respect the peer of his white neighbours was so objectionable to the Europeans in the South African Republic that they provided in their constitution against its toleration in any way. There was no Moravian missionary available, but a Lutheran of the Hanoverian mission was procured, and he had gone to reside with the Bakwena. The report as to his teaching was eminently satisfactory. The volksraad therefore resolved that the government might supply Setsheli with sufficient ammunition for hunting purposes, and that the Hanoverian mission society should be at liberty to establish its agents with other tribes in the republic.

At this time complaints were beginning to be heard that the practice of transferring apprentices, or selling indentures, was becoming frequent. It was rumoured also that several lawless individuals were engaged in obtaining black children from neighbouring tribes, and disposing of them under the name of apprentices. How many such cases occurred cannot be stated with any pretension to accuracy, but the number was not great. The condition of the country made it almost impossible to detain any one capable of performing service longer than he chose to remain with a white master, so that even if the farmers in general had been inclined to become slaveholders, they could not carry such inclinations into practice. The acts of a few of the most unruly individuals in the country might, however, endanger the peace and even the independence of the republic. The president, therefore, on the 29th of September 1857, issued a proclamation pointing

out that the sale or barter of black children was forbidden by the recently adopted constitution, and prohibiting transfers of apprenticeships, except when made before landdrosts.

The court which was to have assembled at Rustenburg on the 9th of November did not meet at the time appointed. The district of Zoutpansberg was in a very unsettled condition, and Mr. Schoeman wrote to President Pretorius that the date must be postponed to the 15th of January 1858. In the meantime he rejected offers of assistance to restore order which Mr. Pretorius made, spoke angrily of such offers as attempts to interfere in his district, and acted generally in so surly a manner that a great many of those who had hitherto supported him now became strong advocates of the new constitution. When at length the final negotiations took place, he found himself in such a position that he could not demand conditions which he might have enforced a few months before. Some slight modifications were made in a few articles of the constitution, to meet the views or the pride of the people of the district, and Zoutpansberg was incorporated with the republic. Mr. Schoeman was then acknowledged as commandant-general of the whole country.

CHAPTER LII.

THE WARS OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE IN 1858 WITH THE BASUTO, THE BUSHMEN, AND THE BATLAPIN.

WHILE the Free State was distracted with the events described in the last chapter, Moshesh was careful not to commit himself to either party, though he led Mr. Pretorius to believe that he was a staunch friend. At the same time he spared no efforts to secure the favour, or at least the neutrality, of the government of the Cape Colony. He offered to submit the question of the ownership of the ground adjoining the Warden line between the Orange and the Caledon to Sir George Grey's arbitration, but under conditions that would have left him master of the situation no matter what the decision might be. In reply, the governor declined to interfere until made acquainted with all that had transpired between him and Mr. Pretorius. This letter must have increased Moshesh's conviction that Sir George Grey was watching him closely. He now sent his son Nehemiah to reside at the Koesberg, and gave him instructions to suppress stock-lifting, which Nehemiah did pretty effectually for several months, thus showing that Moshesh had power to control his subjects, if he were but inclined to use it. The efforts of Nehemiah to preserve order relaxed, however, about the close of 1857.

In February 1858, when the volksraad assembled, the condition of the Free State was such as to cause grave anxiety. The proceedings connected with the recent trial and execution of an Englishman named Charles Leo Cox for the murder of his wife and two children were held by most of his countrymen in the republic to have been irregular,

and the English party had in consequence become opponents of President Boshof. The burghers who were in favour of union with the South African Republic formed a respectable minority, and they were likewise in opposition. There were thus three political parties in the country.

Weary of dissension and feeling the mortification of being impotent for good, on the 25th of February Mr. Boshof tendered his resignation. The volksraad requested him to retain office, but he persisted, and on the following day his resignation was accepted. An executive commission, consisting of Messrs. G. du Toit, E. R. Snyman, and J. J. Hoffman, was appointed to act until an election could take place, and was formally installed at noon on the 1st of March. But in the meantime a large number of burghers were bringing pressure to bear on the volksraad, and on the entreaty of a considerable majority of the members of that body Mr. Boshof was induced to withdraw his resignation in the evening of the same day. The most violent of his opponents then declared the president's chair vacant, on the ground that after the acceptance of his resignation and the appointment of a committee to act, he could only be restored by a general election. Several members in consequence vacated their seats and retired to their homes.

While these wranglings were taking place, Moshesh was endeavouring to provoke the burghers to commence hostilities. In answer to the continued demands of President Boshof for the horses which he had bound himself to deliver, and of which he had sent in only forty-five, letters of the most frivolous nature were written, indicating that he was treating the matter with contempt. Hunting parties of from three to five hundred armed and mounted men entered the Free State when and where they pleased, and trespassed upon farms in defiance of the owners. In the districts of Harrismith, Winburg, and Smithfield, farms held under English titles were taken possession of by petty Basuto captains, and when attempts were made to remove the intruders, Moshesh and Letsie claimed the right of inter-

fering. Events had reached that condition which can only be remedied by war.

The volksraad, feeling the grave responsibility of the step, but convinced that further remonstrances would be futile, authorised the president to prevent intrusion upon the territory of the state. They claimed the Warden line as their boundary, which Moshesh did not cease to ignore. The president accordingly wrote to Moshesh requesting him to warn the marauding chiefs that "henceforth cattle-stealing, and more particularly the intruding upon any part of the state by armed bands for whatever purpose or upon whatever pretence, without permission previously obtained, would be regarded as acts of open hostility, and that measures would be taken to punish such parties and their chiefs in such a manner as to teach them to respect the rights of the burghers and the peace of the territory." The illusion was maintained throughout this letter that the great chief was personally inclined for peace, and that the hostile acts of the petty captains were committed in disobedience of his orders. It was therefore stated that the volksraad had no intention of disturbing the good understanding between him and themselves, and trusted that he would not support the marauders. But that there might be no doubt as to what was really intended, a sentence was added that "no further warning would be given."

Five days after this letter was written, Moshesh's brother Poshuli, with his own followers and some retainers of the Baputi chief Morosi, took forcible possession of one of the best farms in the Smithfield district, which had previously been in the occupation of Mr. Jan de Winnaar, and to which the mission station Hebron was subsequently removed. The petty chief Lebenya, who was a cousin of Jan Letele, had previously seized several other farms in that neighbourhood, and had destroyed the buildings and orchards upon them. It was known at the same time that Letsie had assembled a large party of warriors, and was ready to move in any direction. There could no longer be a possi-

bility of staving off war, except by the abandonment of the country. The landdrost of Smithfield therefore called out the burghers of his district, and as soon as the tidings reached Bloemfontein measures were taken to mobilise almost the entire force of the republic. While this was taking place, Letsie and Moperi were writing to ask what all the excitement was about, and Nehemiah was protesting that Poshuli had made the inroad in ignorance that he was doing anything wrong.

There was some correspondence, and several meetings were held, but all was hollow on both sides. The Free State government was trying to gain time to collect the forces of its western and northern districts, and Moshesh was trying to make it appear that the farmers were the aggressors. The Basuto chiefs all denied positively that they were assembling their warriors, but it is certain that they had already done so. Only four days after the raid, Morosi and those of his followers who had not previously joined Poshuli crossed the Orange to aid Letsie. At the same time that these events were taking place in the south, Molitsane and his Bataung were plundering the inhabitants of Winburg, where five robbers were shot dead and two others and a farmer were wounded.

By the 10th of March a tolerably strong commando was encamped on the border of the disturbed district. The president was there with several members of the volksraad, the landdrost of Smithfield, and other influential men.

On that day came Jan Letele with a party of his followers to the Free State camp, and requested the president to receive him as a subject. He had been one of the most troublesome of all the petty captains on the border, and there was no affection wasted between him and the farmers; but in such straits did the government of Mr. Boshof feel itself, that the council which met to consider the matter resolved to accede to the request. In most cases of the kind the defection of a clan from the tribe to which it belongs is only feigned for strategic purposes. In this instance it was not

so, and the burghers knew that the enmity between the grandson of Motlomi and the family of Moshesh was so bitter that they could depend upon his doing nothing to favour their foes. Yet the acceptance of Jan Letele as a subject, even in these exceptional circumstances, proved to be a blunder. It carried with it the necessity of protecting him thereafter and the responsibility for his and his people's acts.

On the same afternoon a council of war was held, with President Boshof as chairman. It was decided to endeavour to strengthen the forces, and to commence hostilities after fourteen days, unless Moshesh should in the meantime acknowledge the Warden line and agree to make compensation for all thefts traced to his people.

On the 11th the president sent to Moshesh an ultimatum, in which, after a recital of recent events, he demanded a reply to the following questions, to be sent to Bloemfontein before the meeting of the executive council on the 19th of the month; and informed the chief that upon the answer would depend peace or war:

"1. Are you willing to force and oblige Poshuli and Lebenya within the period of one month to pay the damages caused by them or their people to the farms of our burghers, as above stated, according to a fair valuation?

"2. Will you promise to take prompt measures to prevent cattle-stealing in our territories, and to remove Poshuli and Lebenya far away from our boundaries?

"3. Will you engage, without any further delay, to pay up the arrears of compensation for horses stolen by Basuto, as already undertaken by you, and to cause compensation to be made, according to your agreement with me, for such thefts as can be shown to have been subsequently committed by your subjects?

"4. Will you engage to respect the boundary lines of our state, such as you agreed to with Major Warden, and which were confirmed by her Majesty the Queen of England's high commissioner Sir Harry Smith,—until such time as an alteration may be agreed to therein by the paramount chief of the Basuto nation and the authorities of the Free State, either by mutual consent or by way of arbitration as proposed by you to his Excellency the governor of the Cape Colony, to which this government is inclined, upon fair and reasonable terms, to accede,—and prevent your people from entering our state armed on any pretence whatever, on pain of being treated as enemies, unless previous consent shall have been obtained from the landdrost?"

Of the first three of these demands Moshesh took no notice whatever, though to the third he might in justice have replied that as a very large proportion of the thefts had been committed by adherents of Jan Letele, the acceptance of these people as Free State subjects absolved him from payment of the balance of the debt. To the fourth demand he only replied after the date named, in consequence of which war against the Basuto was proclaimed at Bloemfontein on the 19th of March 1858.

There were among the burghers rash and thoughtless men who entered eagerly into this war, but the great majority of them felt that nothing but the direst necessity could justify their embarking in it. They had no soldiers, not even a body of police. They would be obliged to take the field entirely at their own expense, while during their absence from home not only must their ordinary employments be suspended, but their families must be left without protection. Their enemy occupied a country which was one vast fortress, from any point of which he could send out parties of light horse to pillage the plains while they were engaged at a distance. He would fight only behind defences which they must attack, and his force was to theirs as fifteen or twelve to one. Lastly, it was then supposed that the Basuto were as well armed as the farmers. Some renegade whites had shewn Moshesh's people how to make gunpowder, and they had prepared a supply, which, however, was found after the war commenced to be of inferior quality.

The events which led to hostilities have been traced in preceding pages, but it may make the subject clearer to summarise them here. Land was the chief factor in the quarrel. Each party claimed a considerable strip of territory, and each had grounds for asserting a right to it. It had been given to Moshesh by Governor Sir George Napier in a formal treaty, and the chief sometimes maintained that his subsequent cession of it to Major Warden had been cancelled by Sir George Clerk, at other times significantly observed

that when Sir George Cathcart *left* the Berea he took all boundary beacons away with him. It was partly occupied by Basuto, and had been so for twelve or fifteen years. The Europeans claimed it by right of possession taken when it was vacant, and of holding their farms under English titles issued by the Sovereignty government. In their view it was part of a great district utterly waste before the simultaneous migration into it of themselves and the Basuto, between whom the Warden line was a boundary which gave a fair proportion to each. That line had been consented to by Moshesh in writing, had never to their knowledge been cancelled, and was the boundary recognised by the government from which they had taken over the country.

Constant thefts of cattle by the Basuto, and the impossibility of obtaining redress, must next be considered. And here one is struck by the apparent anomaly of the Free State government requiring Moshesh to keep order over people on ground claimed by itself. But this was consistent with the policy constantly pursued by the Dutch from the beginning of their colonisation of South Africa, of interfering as little as possible with the internal affairs of the Hottentot and Bantu tribes, of bringing them under subjection to European courts of law only in cases where Europeans were also concerned. In effect it was saying to Moshesh: These thieves are your people, you claim jurisdiction over them and we have no desire to interfere between them and you; we wish you to remove them from our country, but if you do not, you must keep them in order; otherwise you must engage not to protect them, and we will punish them ourselves. This line of action was quite in accordance also with Bantu law. Every tribe in South Africa, if plundered as the border farmers had been, would regard such treatment as a declaration of war. Moshesh must have directed or at least connived at Poshuli's conduct, with a view of forcing the white people to abandon the disputed territory. As for Jan Letele and Lebenya, the

great chief did not choose to punish them for their depredations and violent conduct, for he had built up his power by conciliation, and he had too little regard for the Free State government to dread its resentment.

Active hostilities commenced at Beersheba mission station on the 23rd of March. This station had been founded in 1836 by the reverend Mr. Rolland, who had gathered together a mixed body of people, with whom he still resided as pastor. Each of the clans there had its own government, but the missionary and such residents as were of the Basuto tribe acknowledged the supremacy of Moshesh. It was considered necessary, before the Free State forces should enter the Lesuto, to guard against the danger of leaving a body of the enemy behind, and therefore Mr. Sauer, landdrost of Smithfield, was directed with the burghers of his district to disarm the residents there and drive out such as would not submit.

Having ascertained that some Basuto warriors from Elandsberg were on the way to join their friends at Beersheba, Mr. Sauer sent a company of his men forward to the ford of the Caledon to prevent their crossing, and with the remainder of the burghers he proceeded to the station. Moeletsi, the most powerful of the chiefs, had, however, received intimation of the approach of the burghers, and during the preceding night had gone off with all his followers capable of bearing arms, leaving the women, children, and feeble of his clan under the care of the missionary.

Early in the morning the Basuto from Elandsberg arrived at the ford where the burgher patrol was waiting for them, and the first skirmish of the war took place, in which about twenty blacks were killed.

Mr. Sauer having called upon the men of the station to surrender their arms, one of the chiefs, a Morolong named Mooi, complied. Sufficient time having been allowed, and the other residents of the place having declined to give up their weapons, fire was opened upon them, and about thirty

were killed. The retainers of Mareka, a Basuto captain who had shown resistance, were driven from the station, and their property was confiscated. Mareka himself was made a prisoner and taken to Smithfield, where he was confined for the time, and it was thought prudent to retain Mooi also as a hostage for the good behaviour of his people. The only casualties of the burghers during the day were two men slightly wounded.

Thus the war commenced by the destruction of a mission station, for Beersheba never recovered from the events of that day. The people who had been living there were comparatively inoffensive, and yet they were the first and most severe sufferers. Mr. Rolland saw the fruits of twenty-two years of labour scattered to the winds in a couple of hours. One does not need to answer the vexed question as to which does most towards the civilisation of the Bantu, the farmer or the missionary; for no matter what reply is given, one must feel sympathy for a man in Mr. Rolland's position. Yet there was no other course open for the Free State government than to do as it did. To have left the people of Moeletsi and Mareka armed in the rear of the commando entering Basutoland would have been an omission of egregious folly. There was no military or police force available to watch those chiefs and prevent them from executing hostile acts. It was thus necessary to disarm them, and to proceed to extremities against such as would not yield. The measure was carried out without any undue violence, and it was only after every reasonable effort to prevent bloodshed had failed that fire was opened. It was war, and war spares not those who hesitate to lay down their arms.

The plan of campaign adopted by the Free State government was to send two commandos into the Lesuto, one from the north, the other from the south, to meet before Thaba Bosigo and endeavour to carry that stronghold by storm. By this means it was hoped that the attention of the Basuto would be taken up with the defence of their villages and

cattle, and that the field of operations might be limited to their country.

But in Moshesh the Free State had to deal with one whose early manhood had been passed in war, and who had risen to power by means of military ability displayed chiefly as a strategist. He had forgotten nothing since the days of Matiwane and Umpangazita, but had learnt much. He sent his cattle into distant and almost inaccessible mountain ravines, and then gave orders to his captains to fight at every point of advantage, but when pressed close to fall back and draw the Free State commandos after them.

Commandant-General Hendrik Weber with the burghers of the southern portion of the state and Jan Letele's people marched first to Vechtkop, the headquarters of Poshuli. On the 28th of March Nehemiah and Poshuli were met with there, and after an engagement retreated, leaving the villages of the latter to their fate. On the following day they were burnt, and the commando then proceeded northward. On the 30th it was at Mohali's Hoek, where in an ambush it lost sixteen men killed and wounded, but had the satisfaction of killing nearly four times as many Basuto as well as one renegade European, and of capturing a few hundred cattle. From Mohali's Hoek the commando marched against Letsie, but its progress was impeded by the action of the council of war, a debating society before which all questions of importance were required to be brought and to whose decisions the commandant-general was obliged to conform. This council resolved that it would be imprudent to attack Letsie, and the commando therefore fell back to Jammerberg Drift.

The column formed of the burghers of the northern part of the Free State was in two divisions, under Commandants F. Senekal and W. J. Pretorius. On the 25th of March Moperi and Molitsane were defeated at Koranaberg by Commandant Pretorius. On the 12th, 13th, and 14th of April, at Cathcart's Drift, this column had a series of engagements with the warriors of Molapo, Moperi, and Molitsane, who surrounded

and threatened to annihilate it with their overwhelming numbers. But by this time it was known that the gunpowder manufactured by the Basuto was incapable of carrying a ball farther than a hundred and fifty to a hundred and eighty metres, so that the difference of number was more than compensated. The column forced its way out of the dense ring of warriors, but not before it had lost seventeen men, killed and wounded.

On the 25th the two columns effected a junction. Three days later Mr. Frederik Senekal was elected commandant-general in place of Mr. H. Weber, and an attack was made upon Letsie, who was posted with about four thousand warriors on the heights close to his village, the mission station Morija. After some skirmishing Letsie gave way, and retreated to Thaba Bosigo. The commando then took possession of his village, when the burghers were horrified by finding portions of the corpses of some of their friends who had fallen at Mohali's Hoek. The Basuto priests had brought these ghastly relics there for the purpose of using them as matter to bewitch and bring evil upon their opponents, and had concealed them from other eyes—particularly from those of women—in a laboratory of their own, which was discovered when the commando entered. Exasperated by this sight, the burghers condemned the village to the same fate as that to which they had devoted the kraals of the robber Poshuli, and spared only the church and the property of the missionary Maeder.

The reverend Mr. Arbousset with his family and six English traders and mechanics, who had been living at Morija, left the place before the commando entered it. It was believed by the burghers that they had fought on the Basuto side, but this has since been disproved. Mr. Arbousset removed his family to a cave in a neighbouring mountain, owing to the illness of one of his daughters, and his fear that if the place were attacked the excitement might prove fatal to her. Why the traders left Morija has never been satisfactorily explained, for as neutrals they had nothing to fear

from the Free State forces., Mr. Maeder, who remained at his house, suffered no molestation, nor did any other peaceable individual encountered by the commando in the Lesuto.

The property of those who fled, being left without protection, met with the same treatment as that of the Basuto. This event caused a great deal of discussion in South Africa and among the mission societies of Europe. The French consul at Capetown requested the high commissioner to protect his countrymen, and the British subjects whose property had been destroyed petitioned him to obtain compensation for them from the Free State government. But all parties in the end, though regretting the event, came to see that the destruction of property under such circumstances was nothing unusual in war. The imperial government declined to interfere in the matter, and the volksraad refused to recompense either the missionary or the traders, but voted £100 to the Paris society to make good the damage its buildings had sustained.

From Morija the Free State forces marched to Thaba Bosigo, where they arrived on the 6th of May. A body of Basuto encountered at the foot of the mountain made a show of resistance, but after skirmishing for four hours took to flight. The burghers had before their eyes at last the object of their expedition, and they recognised at once the hopelessness of securing it. The frowning precipices of the great citadel, hundreds of feet in height, were beyond the power of man to scale, and the few steep pathways to its summit were fortified in the strongest manner and defended by a garrison amply provided with munitions of war.

During the fortnight preceding the arrival of the burgher forces before Thaba Bosigo, various rumours had reached the camps that the Basuto had invaded the Free State and were spreading devastation far and wide. What was at first doubtful was by-and-by confirmed. It was known that on the 14th of April, while the northern column was fighting at Cathcart's Drift with one great swarm, a body of light horsemen had spread over the district of Winburg, had

swept off all the stock in its track, and had left behind nothing but smouldering ruins. It was known too that this was only the first of a series of raids in that direction. And now came intelligence that on the 26th of April the district of Smithfield had been pillaged and laid waste in a similar manner. With such tidings in their ears and with an impregnable stronghold before their eyes, there came but one thought to the burghers, that of returning to their families. A council of war was speedily held, and a resolution to break up the commando was adopted. Without an hour's delay it was acted upon, and every man set off for his home as quickly as he could.

Even before this utter collapse, President Boshof saw plainly that the Free State was unable to hold its own in war against the Basuto. He had applied to President Pretorius for assistance, but it was as yet doubtful what course the sister republic would take. On the 4th of May the volksraad of the northern state met at Potchefstroom, when twelve memorials numerously signed by Free State burghers were read, all urgently asking for aid. It appeared to the volksraad as if a favourable opportunity for the union of the two countries had arrived, and a resolution was adopted that President Pretorius and Commandant-General Schoeman should proceed to Bloemfontein and endeavour to restore peace. Should Moshesh refuse reasonable terms, the united countries would deal with him.

Before this resolution was adopted, President Boshof had turned to Sir George Grey. That governor had proclaimed a strict neutrality, and though a few individuals could not be prevented from going to aid their brethren, nor a few adventurers from crossing the river to take service as substitutes for burghers who could afford to pay them liberally, the whole succour thus obtained was probably less than that which Moshesh was receiving from neighbouring Bantu tribes. Moroko's Barolong, indeed, were in arms on the Free State side, but their weight was trifling in the scale against Moshesh.

On the 27th of April Mr. Boshof wrote to Sir George Grey, asking for his intercession as a humane and christian act. The Cape parliament was then sitting, and the governor without any delay informed the chambers of the president's application. Hereupon the legislative council unanimously resolved "that a respectful address be presented to his Excellency the governor, thanking him for his message relative to the melancholy state of affairs in the Orange Free State, and expressing the cordial approval of this council of a friendly mediation on the part of his Excellency, and their earnest hope that he may thus be enabled to restore peace and amicably to settle all differences between the president of the Free State and the Basuto chief."

In the house of assembly a resolution was passed "that his Excellency the governor should be requested by this house to tender his services to mediate between the president of the Free State and the chief of the Basuto, with the view of bringing about a termination of the disastrous war now raging in their territories, and of settling the disputes between them which have unfortunately led to the war; but it is the opinion of this house that in case of either party declining to accept his Excellency's mediation, his Excellency should not further interfere, or take any step which might, either directly or indirectly, involve or compromise this colony in the differences existing between the Free State and the Basuto."

As soon as these resolutions were passed, the governor tendered his services as a mediator to Mr. Boshof and Moshesh. The president and executive council of the Free State gratefully accepted the offer, and the volksraad, as soon as it met, approved of their having done so. Moshesh also agreed unconditionally to the governor's mediation, for though he was apparently master of the situation, he was wise enough to see that if he pushed his advantages too far he would bring a new enemy into the field. The union of the two republics was a contingency that he had to take into consideration.

Before either the deputation from the South African Republic or Sir George Grey's offer of mediation reached Bloemfontein the Free State forces had dissolved, and Mr. Boshof was compelled to make overtures to Moshesh for a suspension of hostilities. He wrote asking the chief if he would receive a deputation, or if he would consent to President Pretorius of the South African Republic arranging an armistice. Moshesh replied in a haughty and sarcastic manner, threw the blame of the war upon the Free State, accused the burghers of acting as barbarians, and stated that he had not yet begun to fight; but he consented to receive a deputation to arrange a truce. Messrs. L. J. Papenfus and W. G. Every were then sent to Thaba Bosigo, and on the 1st of June an armistice was agreed upon and signed, under which all military operations on both sides were to be suspended until Sir George Grey should arrange the final terms of peace. There was, however, to be no intercourse other than by official messengers between the contracting parties during that interval.

The republic had other foes to contend with. Away on its western border several of the petty chiefs, believing the time favourable for securing plunder, commenced to ravage the country in their neighbourhood. The Bushman captain Scheel Kobus, son of Kausop, was the first to take the field. His location was part of a tract of land along the left bank of the Vaal from Platberg to the curve opposite the junction of the Hart, which Major Warden had set apart as a reserve for bands of Korana and Bushman blood. From this reserve Jan Bloem, the most powerful of all the captains, had wandered away. Scheel Kobus, who had succeeded his father Kausop, Goliath Yzerbek, and David Danser were the other proprietors.

Goliath and Danser had been quarrelling ever since they had been located together. Various attempts had been made by the Free State government to bring about a better feeling between them, but to no purpose. At last, in August 1857, Danser paid a visit to Bloemfontein and offered

President Boshof to sell his rights in the reserve for £75, and move away beyond the Vaal. The volksraad immediately authorised the president to agree to the proposal, but Danser then held back. Upon this, Goliath offered to dispose of his rights and move off if the Free State would pay him £100. The proposal was closed with, the money was paid, and it was believed that there was one difficulty less on the border. In February 1858 the volksraad authorised the president to buy out Danser for £100, and to offer the Berlin mission £100 for their rights in the station ground, so that the only part of the reserve left would be that occupied by Scheel Kobus. The negotiations necessary to carry this resolution into effect had not, however, been entered into when the Basuto war commenced.

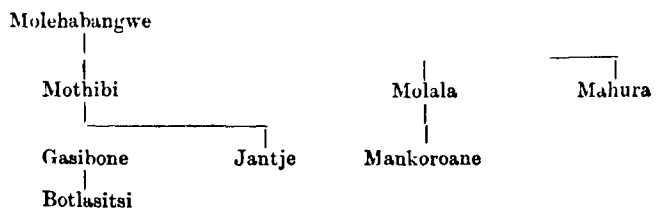
Kausop, father of Scheel Kobus, in Major Warden's time had laid claim to a very large tract of land as the hunting ground of his band from time immemorial, but his right to it was not admitted, as David Danser was in actual possession of it when the emigrant farmers entered the country, and had sold it to them. Kausop, however, was provided with a location large enough for the needs of his puny band, and the matter was thereafter regarded as settled. Beyond the loss of hunting grounds which he could not hope ever to recover, Scheel Kobus was not known to have any cause of complaint, real or imaginary, against the burghers in his neighbourhood. On the 24th of May, without any provocation whatever, at the head of about three hundred men he made an inroad into the state and swept off two hundred head of horned cattle, two thousand sheep, seventy-three horses, four waggons, and some other property. The raiders murdered a farmer, Zacharias Swanepoel by name, and wounded two others, named Roelof du Plooy and Jacobus Coetsee. They retreated with their booty to a fastness at the bend of the Vaal river, where they had made a fortification of ditches and trunks of trees.

The example set by Scheel Kobus was immediately followed by other chiefs. Goliath Yzerbek joined the robber, as did

also Gasibone and Matlabane, captains of clans of the Batlapin.

The Batlapin had long since abandoned Lithako and Kuruman, where the missionaries of the London society had found them, and had made their kraals along the lower course of the Hart river. Practically they were now divided into several independent clans. Molehabangwe had been found by the traveller Burchell in undisputed authority over the whole Batlapin tribe. He had been succeeded as paramount chief by his son of highest rank, named Mothibi, with whom the mission of Kuruman was founded. But after a while Mothibi left Kuruman and settled at Likhatlong, taking only a portion of the tribe with him. His younger brother Mahura, son of Molehabangwe by an inferior wife, then became the real head of the remainder of the people. He went to reside at Taung, leaving Kuruman to be occupied by remnants of tribes from the north.

Upon Mothibi's death another division took place. His heir in the great line had died some years earlier, leaving only a son by an inferior wife, so that the youth was not entitled to succeed as paramount chief. Mothibi's eldest surviving son—Gasibone by name—was of the great house, but made no effort to assert supremacy over Mahura. He moved to a new kraal, leaving a younger brother named Jantje at Likhatlong. In 1858 Gasibone was the Batlapin chief of highest rank, but in reality Mahura was more powerful. The following genealogical table shows the line of descent of these and later chiefs who have come into prominence:



The Batlapin were not subjects of the South African Republic. Their country, owing to Moselekatse's friendship

with the reverend Mr. Moffat, had never been overrun by the Matabele, and consequently was not taken possession of by the emigrant farmers. They were believed to be friendly; but the temptation of plunder was too great for them to resist.

Gasibone and Matlabane, one of his sub-chiefs, joined Scheel Kobus, and on the 30th of May made a raid into the Free State, murdered two men named Lombard and Van Aswegen, brutally illtreated three children and a woman, drove another woman and her children from their home, and retired with a quantity of plunder.

On the 8th of June the combined horde made a third inroad, murdered a man named Jan Coetsee, and swept off a quantity of stock. A body of farmers collected hastily and went in pursuit of the marauders, whom they overtook. A skirmish followed, in which a burgher named Jacob Diederikse was killed and two others were wounded, but the stock was retaken and some twenty of the raiders were shot. The robber horde then plundered some farms on the other side of the river. An old burgher named Opperman was murdered, and his wife and granddaughter were carried away as captives by Matlabane.

A commando was got together by the Free State as soon as possible. It consisted of two hundred and forty burghers and one hundred and sixty blacks, these last comprising a party of Fingos from Bloemfontein and the warriors of David Danser, who declared himself the firm friend of the white man as soon as it was known that Goliath had joined Scheel Kobus. Mr. Hendrik Venter was elected commandant-general. With him was associated Mr. James Michael Howell, an English officer on half-pay, who was then filling the situation of landdrost of Winburg.

On the 5th of July the commando attacked the robbers' stronghold, and hemmed the horde in so that escape was impossible. No Batlapin were there at the time. The place was taken by assault, with a loss of one man killed and three wounded on the side of the Europeans, and of one hundred

and twelve men killed on the side of the robbers. Among the dead were Scheel Kobus and his brother. The corpses were those of different tribes, among them being several Griquas. A few women and children were also killed by the fire of the burghers, poured in as the place was being stormed. Forty-three adult males and fifty women and children were taken prisoners.

It was considered necessary to send one of the wounded Europeans, Albertus van der Westhuizen by name, to the village of Boshof for surgical treatment. For that purpose he was placed in a waggon, which was provided with an escort of six farmers and nine blacks. On the way a party of Gasibone's Batlapin was met, when the escort in a cowardly manner left the wounded man to his fate and fled. The waggon was seized by the Batlapin, and Van der Westhuizen was cruelly murdered.

The commandant-general directed forty-two of the male prisoners to be taken to the jail at Bloemfontein. They were placed under charge of the Bloemfontein Fingos, who were commanded by a volunteer officer named Patrick O'Brien. On the 12th of July Mr. O'Brien reached Boshof, where he heard so many threats against the prisoners that he applied to the commandant-general for further orders before leaving the village. He was instructed to go on. On the 14th he left Boshof, and when only a few kilometres from the village a party of thirty men with their faces veiled rode up and announced their intention to shoot the prisoners. The only grace allowed the wretched captives was to run, and they were shot down in a vain effort to escape. This dastardly deed was committed in cool blood, in the broad light of day. And its perpetrators were never punished, for the condition of the country was such that they could not be brought to trial, although the outburst of indignation was general.

With this tragic event the outbreak ended on the Free State side of the Vaal, but north of that river the Batlapin were yet to be dealt with. The South African Republic sent

a burgher force under Commandant Paul Kruger against the marauders. Gasibone fled to his kinsman Mahura, who had taken no part in the disturbances, but who was not disposed to abandon the head of his family in a time of need.

On the 5th of July President Pretorius wrote to Mahura, requesting the delivery of the robbers, and on the 27th Commandant Kruger did the same, asking of him also as a proof of friendship to send out the two white women who were prisoners with Matlabane. On the 5th and again on the 7th of August Commandant Kruger wrote from his camp repeating this request, but to no effect. On the last occasion he stated that if the murderers and the stolen property were given up, not a drop of blood would be spilt.

On the 7th of August the two white women were brought into the camp, their release having been effected by Mr. Edward Chapman, a trader at Kuruman. On the same day Commandant Kruger's force was joined by sixty-four burghers from the Free State under Commandant Hendrik Venter, and by David Danser's whole following. The Batlapin were then attacked, and though they occupied very strong positions, in a series of skirmishes which took place from the 9th to the 13th of August they lost a large number of men. On the 13th Gasibone was killed. His head was cut off and sent to Mahura, the reason assigned for such a barbarous act being that otherwise the Batlapin would deny that he had fallen.

Upon the death of Gasibone, Mahura immediately sent to ask for peace. Commandant Kruger invited him to come to the camp to arrange terms, but he replied that he was afraid to do so, and would therefore send his counsellors to represent him. With these an agreement was made that Mahura should surrender all the property that had been stolen in both the republics, and in addition make good the costs of the commando within three months. To this effect a document was signed by both parties on the 18th of August.

In this campaign the Batlapin loss of life was heavy, and two thousand eight hundred head of horned cattle, four thousand sheep and goats, sixty-five horses, and twenty-three waggons were taken from them. A great part of this spoil, however, consisted of property stolen from farmers in the different raids. This was restored to the owners or their heirs, and the remainder was divided among the members of the commando.

On the 7th of June, just a fortnight after the first raid of Scheel Kobus, President Pretorius, accompanied by Commandant Paul Kruger and about twenty other persons, arrived in Bloemfontein. On the same day the volksraad of the Free State met in extraordinary session. Throughout the country the sufferings of the people had been such that the bravest had almost lost heart. Along the Basuto border and far towards the centre of the state the burghers had been reduced to extreme poverty. Murder, death in battle, sickness caused by distress, had put half the inhabitants into mourning.

The members of the volksraad came together with dejection marked on every brow. There was but one thing that could save the land, said many, and that was union with the South African Republic. Petitions in favour of this measure, signed by one thousand four hundred and forty-five persons, were read and laid upon the table. The discussion commenced, but on the 11th of June a letter was received from Sir George Grey, and read, announcing that in case an agreement of union was concluded, the conventions of 1852 and 1854 would no longer be considered binding by Great Britain. After the letter was read there was great diversity of opinion, but in the end it was resolved that upon Sir George Grey's arrival to arrange peace with the Basuto, a deputation should confer with him upon the subject. The South African Republic also determined to send a deputation for the same purpose.

Some cattle belonging to Transvaal burghers who were passing through the Free State having been seized by the

Basuto, Commandant Paul Kruger and Mr. M. G. Schoeman were sent by President Pretorius to Moshesh to treat for their recovery. Two deputies from the Free State government accompanied them. On the 18th of June an agreement was entered into at Thaba Bosigo between these commissioners and the Basuto chief, which provided for the restoration of the cattle and the prevention of further thefts. As soon as it was concluded, Commandant Kruger hastened to join the expedition against Gasibone, which was then on the march.

Sir George Grey was not able to leave Capetown until the end of July. On the 20th of August he reached Bloemfontein and arranged with the president that the commissioners appointed by the volksraad should draw up their case concisely in writing, and have it, with any documents to support it, in readiness to lay before a meeting with Moshesh and his counsellors, which he proposed to hold at an early date.

At Bloemfontein the governor received urgent despatches requiring him to send all the troops that could be spared immediately to India. To establish peace between the Free State and the Basuto thus became a matter of the first importance, for there were then very few soldiers in South Africa, and until that was accomplished not a man could be missed. Moshesh's success had caused a feeling of restlessness among other tribes, and if the war should be resumed it was feared that it might become general between whites and blacks throughout South Africa. And notwithstanding the truce of the 1st of June and the agreement of the 18th, there was the utmost danger of an immediate renewal of hostilities. Thieving along the whole border was as rife as ever, houses were still being burnt far within the limits of the Free State, and great armed hunting parties were traversing the country wherever they pleased. Nor was the provocation confined to Moshesh's people. To Jan Letele, subject of the Free State, times of truce as well as times of peace were times of plunder. His retainers lost no op-

portunity of lifting the stock of other Basuto, and were especially delighted when they could rob Poshuli.

Even on the colonial border disturbances were threatening. The superintendent of the Wittebergen Bantu reserve—now the district of Herschel — had taken advantage of the presence there of a strong body of mounted police, and had required Morosi to remove his adherents to his own side of the Tees. The Baputi chief, who laid claim to a great tract of land on the colonial side, to which he had about as much right as Moshesh had to the lower Caledon, in retaliation was plundering the reserve and the adjoining districts.

Matters were in this condition when Sir George Grey rode from Bloemfontein to Thaba Bosigo, and met Moshesh. He desired the chief to discuss his case thoroughly with his sons, counsellors, and great vassals, and then to attend a meeting with the Free State commissioners at Aliwal North, when both sides could bring forward their claims. Moshesh professed himself willing to do as desired, but requested that instead of Aliwal North, Beersheba should be the place of meeting, as more convenient to himself. To this Sir George Grey assented, the change of locality being of little or no importance, and the 15th of September was fixed as the date of the conference.

After making these preliminary arrangements, the governor galloped to King-Williamstown, put everything in order for moving the troops, and was back at Beersheba on the 14th of September. The Free State commissioners, nine in number, were there; but Moshesh was not. A blind boy, who claimed to have communication with the spirit world, had a dream that evil would result from the chief's going to the meeting. Probably this dream accorded with Moshesh's views; at any rate he professed to consider it as a warning, and stayed at home. And so, after all the trouble the governor had taken, he found at Beersheba only a letter asking him to excuse the chief, who was old and subject to headache, and had therefore sent a number of men to represent him. But

among these representatives there was not one of his sons or vassals of high rank, and it was evident that Moshesh was trifling.

Peace, however, was so ardently desired by Sir George Grey that he did not feel inclined to abandon without further effort the attempt to secure it. He perused carefully all the documents submitted to him by the Free State commissioners, made himself thoroughly acquainted with their views, and then went a second time to visit Moshesh. He found the chief at Morija, and obtained from him a statement of what he and his tribe desired as conditions of peace. Moshesh's pretensions were so extravagant that practically they amounted to the extinction of the Free State. On the other hand the commissioners of the republic were very unwilling to make any concessions, and even maintained that as the war had been brought on by the aggressive conduct of the Basuto, they should be condemned to pay the cost of it. With such conflicting claims, it seemed almost impossible to reconcile the contending parties.

The governor at length induced Moshesh to appoint commissioners with full power to act for him, and accompanied by these men he rode to Aliwal North. They were Makwai, the individual highest in hereditary rank of the house of Moshesh; Job, Moshesh's half brother; and David Raliye, a nephew of Molitsane. At Aliwal North the governor framed a document containing such conditions as he considered just and reasonable, and the commissioners on both sides after long argument having agreed to the several clauses, it was formally signed on the 29th of September 1858.

The treaty confirmed the Warden line between the Europeans and the Basuto on the north and west, but gave to Moshesh a large portion of the disputed district between the Caledon and Orange rivers. The new boundary as defined in it was to be marked out by the governor or by commissioners chosen by him. Each party was to withdraw

its subjects to its own side, without compensation from the other, a reasonable time being allowed for the removal of crops and buildings.

It was agreed that the district of Beersheba should thereafter form part of the Free State, but six thousand acres of ground surrounding the station, to be marked out by the governor's commissioners, were reserved for the French mission in full property.

In the eleventh clause it was agreed that in case of robberies being committed by any chiefs under the paramount authority of Moshesh, or in case of incursions by armed bands into the territory of the republic, Moshesh was either to punish the criminals himself, or to allow the Free State to do so without interference or without a general war with the Basuto tribe being the consequence.

The remaining clauses provided for the opening of a public road between Hebron and Aliwal North, the mutual extradition of criminals, the restitution of stolen property, the punishment of thieves, the responsibility of every chief for cattle whose spoor should be traced to his territory, the prohibition of hunting parties in any district of the Free State without previous permission from the landdrost, and the protection of Jan Letele and Moroko from molestation by the Basuto on account of having aided the Free State in the war.

After the signing of the treaty, Sir George Grey proceeded in person to see the new line properly marked with beacons. The commissioners on both sides accompanied him, and as it was found that in some places the strict wording of the treaty could not well be followed, owing to the conformation of the ground, they consented to a few slight modifications. When this was completed Makwai was sent with the treaty to Moshesh for ratification, but the great chief returned it without his signature, though in a letter he stated that he agreed to it.

Mr. Burnet was therefore instructed to proceed to Thaba Bosigo with the treaty. He found Moshesh averse to several

of the conditions, and evidently dissatisfied because he had not obtained all that he asked for. That as a conqueror in war he had received a cession of territory, that his unpaid debt to the Free State had been cancelled, that he had been required to surrender nothing except a nominal sovereignty over the lands of Beersheba to which his claim was at best but shadowy, were lost sight of in discontent that his people should be restrained from hunting in the republic without license, and that he should be compelled to make restitution in future for thefts. It was at first very doubtful whether all the trouble taken by the governor had not been in vain, but after long wavering, on the 15th of October Moshesh affixed his seal and mark to the treaty, though with evident reluctance, and, as shown in the sequel, with no intention of adhering to it.

CHAPTER LIII.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE FROM 1859 TO 1862.

AMONG the Bantu chiefs of South Africa Moshesh stands out prominently as the most intelligent and the most humane. Like Tshaka he built up a great power by his own ability, but he did it without that vast sacrifice of human life which marked the career of the Zulu despot. Alone among barbarian leaders, he had risen more by conciliating than by crushing his opponents. At the head of a mixed tribe, many members of which had once been cannibals, and many others refugees from robber hordes, he had favoured the introduction of the arts of civilisation and had befriended and encouraged European missionaries. No other South African chief was so capable as he of forming and carrying out elaborate plans for the advantage of his people, none could weigh opposing forces so carefully, none knew so well how to turn every opportunity to good account.

But with all this, Moshesh had not, and could not in reason be expected to have, the higher virtues of Europeans. At no period of his life had he any regard whatever for his promises. He lost nothing, either in self-respect or in the opinion of his people, by breaking faith with others. He signed the treaty of 1858 to avoid the displeasure of Sir George Grey, but as there was no force to compel him to observe it, he made no effort to carry out its provisions. The plundering of the border farmers went on as before. Hunting parties continued to traverse the Free State, without troubling themselves to ask permission from a landdrost, though Mr. Boshof offered to place every facility in their way if they would comply with a few simple and necessary regulations.

Sir George Grey had seen, when arranging the terms of the treaty, that Jan Letele's presence on the frontier was a formidable obstacle to the preservation of peace between Moshesh's people and the farmers. The upper portion of the district below the Drakensberg, which was then called Nomansland, and is now known as Griqualand East, was regarded by Sir George Grey as being at his disposal, and he proposed to give land in it to Jan Letele and Lehana, the son of Sikonyela. The last named was the head of the Batlokua in the Wittebergen reserve, where there was not sufficient room for him, and where his presence caused much jealousy.

But this plan of the governor, though favourably received by Letele and Lehana, was frustrated by the action of Moshesh. It was only natural that the great chief should be averse to the establishment of a rival Basuto tribe beyond the mountains, which would draw from him disaffected subjects and seriously weaken his power. For many years he had been in close communication with Faku, who had offered him the vacant district, a contingency entirely unforeseen by Sir Peregrine Maitland when he acknowledged the Pondo chief as its owner. As soon therefore as the rumour of Sir George Grey's plan reached Moshesh's ears, measures were taken to counteract it, but in such a manner that the governor should have no suspicion that he was being thwarted.

To this end Nehemiah met Sir George Grey at Morija, and professing that he was not on good terms with his father, requested that he also might have a location in Nomansland. The governor was not disposed either to grant or refuse the request without further consideration, and told Nehemiah to write to him after his return to Cape Town. As this would cause delay, however, Moshesh's son decided to move at once, and before the close of 1858 he was established with about seventy men on the western bank of the Umzimvubu, near the source of that river. A little later, when returning to the Lesuto for the purpose of

inducing a larger number of people to join him, he wrote to the governor that he "would be very thankful if his Excellency would inform others who might wish to press in that his child Nehemiah had already settled in the new country with his good will." Of course, with Nehemiah on the Umzimvubu, Jan Letele made no attempt to settle in Nomansland, and when in the following year Lehana went to inspect the district he was deterred from moving his people into it by the threats of some Pondomsi chiefs who were then acting in concert with Nehemiah.

The volksraad of the Free State, though considering that the treaty was all to the advantage of Moshesh, approved of the acts of their commissioners, and tendered their thanks to Sir George Grey for the trouble he had taken. The farmers were not permitted to return to the Basuto side of the new boundary, and were compensated for their losses as far as possible by grants of land in the Beersheba district. The French mission society petitioned for a larger area than the six thousand acres secured to it in the treaty, but the volksraad declined to comply with the request, and further resolved to protect the friendly headman Mooi there, and not permit him to be forced out by the pressure of Moeletsi's Basuto.

In February 1859 President Boshof sent a deputation to Moshesh to represent to him that on account of the constant robberies and violence of the followers of Molitsane and Poshuli the farms along the Winburg and Caledon river borders were abandoned, and to urge him to act in conformity with the treaty. Messrs. Schnehage and Meyer, the members of the deputation, met with a friendly reception at Thaba Bosigo and from the chiefs along the route, but obtained no satisfactory reply from Moshesh, who merely desired that a meeting of Poshuli, Letele, Mr. Boshof, and himself should take place. The great chief, in turn, sent five deputies to Bloemfontein, but when they had an interview with the volksraad they declared that they were without authority, having been merely instructed to listen.

In despair of being able to overcome the difficulties in which the republic was now involved, on the 21st of February 1859 Mr. Boshof again tendered his resignation. The volksraad earnestly requested him to continue in office, declaring their entire confidence in him, and expressing the opinion that his retirement would be most disastrous to the country. He, however, obtained six months' leave of absence to visit Natal, and Mr. Esaias Rynier Snyman was appointed acting president. On the 25th of June Mr. Boshof sent a final letter of resignation from Natal, which the volksraad, at an extraordinary session held in September, was obliged to accept. Mr. Snyman was then requested to retain the acting appointment until an election could take place and the new president be installed.

The volksraad recommended to the burghers only one person, Mr. Jacobus Johannes Venter, and decided that the election should be held on the 15th of December. According to the original constitution of the state, this would have been equivalent to the appointment of Mr. Venter; but in 1856 an ordinance had been passed, under which the burghers could vote for any person as president who should receive a requisition signed by twenty-five qualified electors, provided such requisition with a reply accepting it were published in the *State Gazette* four full weeks before the day of election. The recommendation of Mr. Venter therefore merely signified that he was the volksraad's candidate, and the people could choose another if they felt disposed to do so.

It would be wearisome to enter minutely into events on the Basuto border during the time that Mr. Snyman was acting president of the Free State. Sometimes there was a lull in the thefts, but there never was any security for property in cattle. Meetings were held between representatives of both sides—one in May 1859, another in January 1860—without any good result. Moshesh said plainly that he would redress no wrongs until Jan Letele, who lost no opportunity of robbing his people, was compelled to give up

the spoil or placed under his jurisdiction. The reception of this vagabond as a subject of the Free State was a very sore point with the great chief. But Mr. Snyman's government could not in honour either surrender or abandon him, and it had no means of keeping him in order.

The most important events at this time were accessions of territory which added considerably to the strength of the republic. The location along the Vaal belonging to Goliath Yzerbek had been obtained by purchase, that of Scheel Kobus was taken possession of after his defeat and death, and in 1859 that of David Danser was acquired by an agreement with his successor Jan Danser, in which that captain sold out and moved away for a payment of £100. Jan Bloem's people had nearly abandoned their location. The Berlin society had again occupied Pniel, but the jurisdiction of the Free State was now unquestioned over the whole of the former Korana and Bushman reserves, and the larger portion of the area was waste government land open for occupation by burghers.

In 1833 the reverend Mr. Pellissier, of the French society, had led a Batlapin clan under the chief Lepui from the neighbourhood of Kuruman to the junction of the Caledon and the Orange, and had taken possession of the tract of country there which has ever since been known as the district of Bethulie. For nearly a quarter of a century hardly anything was heard except in mission reports of Lepui and his people. They did not interfere with their neighbours, nor did their neighbours with them. They took no part in any of the wars of the country. Moshesh claimed no jurisdiction over them, and their only connection with outsiders was the connection of their missionary with those of the same society labouring in the Lesuto.

This happy condition was terminated by a quarrel between the missionary and the chief. Each then claimed the ownership of the district, and ignored the other. The people of Lepui with his sanction offered a large portion of their vacant land for sale, and when some farmers made

purchases Mr. Pellissier protested. Notwithstanding his protests the sales were carried out. Mr. Pellissier then, on the 24th of January 1859, offered the Free State government to cede the sovereignty of Bethulie to it on condition that the ground should remain a reserve for Bantu under control of the Paris Evangelical Society. This offer was declined, but ten days later—2nd of February 1859—Lepui made a formal application to President Boshof to be taken with his subjects and territory under the laws and government of the Orange Free State.

Owing to Mr. Boshof's retirement, several months elapsed without any steps being taken on this application, but on the 8th of October Acting President Snyman entered into an arrangement with Lepui by which Bethulie became part of the Free State. In deference to Mr. Pellissier some concessions were made, and he was understood as giving his consent to the agreement, but after its ratification by the volksraad on the 13th of February 1860 he protested against it, complained to Sir George Grey, and even urged the French consul in Capetown to interfere to prevent any portion of the district being occupied by white people; but all to no purpose.

Private rights of course remained intact, and even the unoccupied ground was still considered the property of the clan. But as the territory was in a good position, numerous farmers from the Cape Colony were ready to purchase ground in it, and the people of Lepui were just as ready to sell. The clan at this time divided into two sections, the larger of which, under Lepui's son Koro, moved away to Basutoland. Moshesh gladly received the new-comers, and gave them ground to live upon at Korokoro, where a Roman Catholic mission was afterwards established. In a few months the whole of the district of Bethulie, excepting only about twenty-five thousand morgen round the French mission station, was sold and in occupation of European farmers. The executive council of the Free State then allotted ten thousand morgen of what remained to the Paris Evangelical

Society, including in the grant the gardens and ground on which the mission buildings were erected.

On the 15th of February 1860 the volksraad declared Bethulie a district of the Orange Free State, with rights of representation and a landdrost's court of its own. Mr. J. F. van Iddekinge was appointed its first landdrost. Later in the same year Lepui exchanged the fifteen thousand morgen of land remaining in his possession for a location in the district of Smithfield. This ground was then divided into four farms and building lots for a village with a commonage of six thousand morgen. The sale of the farms and building lots took place in June 1862, when the highest prices ever paid for ground north of the Orange were obtained. Louw Wepener, whose name was to be renowned in later times, was the purchaser of one of the farms.

In February 1858 the volksraad resolved to establish a landdrost's court at Boshof, for the convenience of the inhabitants of the western part of the state. The new district took the name of the village which was its seat of magistracy. On the 3rd of July Mr. A. H. Jacobs was installed as the first landdrost.

In the extreme north of the state another district was formed in the following year, by cutting off a portion of Winburg. The new district was called Kroonstad. On the 30th of August 1859 the volksraad authorised the acting president to station a landdrost at the village of Kroonstad, where previously there had been a special justice of the peace. Mr. Willem Christiaan Peeters was appointed the first landdrost, and assumed duty on the 19th of November. Eleven days later the residents of the new district, who were dissatisfied with the landdrost, rose against him and drove him away. So weak was the government at the time that it was unable to restore him.

On the 3rd of March 1860 the first building lots were sold in the present village of Bethlehem. Messrs. Paul Naude, Daniel Malan, and Jan Muller, three residents in the neighbourhood, combined and purchased the farm

Pretorius Kloof, with a view of establishing a church upon it. Their plan was carried out, the necessary buildings being erected in the following year by means of funds obtained by the sale of plots of ground and by subscription. In this manner many villages in South Africa have been founded. First a church is built, then a clergyman takes up his residence close by, and is accompanied by a schoolmaster; elderly farmers follow, to be near the church and to provide a home for their grandchildren attending the school; shopkeepers and mechanics come next; and finally the government considers it necessary to have a collector of taxes and a dispenser of justice in the place. It now takes rank as a village, and, if its situation is a good one, in course of time it becomes a district town. In March 1864, four years after its foundation, Bethlehem was provided with a resident justice of the peace.

The party in the Free State that regarded union with the South African Republic as the only solution of their difficulties with Moshesh rejected the candidate for the presidency recommended by the volksraad, and turned to Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius as their natural leader. Mr. Pretorius was president of the South African Republic. By the advice of his friends there he accepted the requisition, and upon his election by a majority of twelve hundred and eighty-two votes against three hundred and ten divided among four other candidates, he applied to the volksraad which met at Potchefstroom on the 2nd of February 1860 for six months leave of absence. This being granted, he at once left for Bloemfontein. On the 8th of February 1860 he took the oath as president of the Free State, stipulating, however, that his term of office should be undefined, though not longer than the five years mentioned in the constitution.

At this time a large majority of the inhabitants of the three independent territories—the South African Republic, the Republic of Lydenburg, and the Orange Free State—were in favour of union, either under a federal govern-

ment or by the formation of a single state with one volksraad and one executive. There was nothing to prevent the two former uniting or not, as they pleased, but there was a serious obstacle in the way of the Orange Free State joining the others.

In September 1858, when the treaty with the Basuto was being arranged at Aliwal North, the Free State deputation had conferred with Sir George Grey upon this matter. His Excellency informed them that the effect would be the annulling of the conventions. Great Britain would probably decline to enter into a new convention with the consolidated state, or, if she did, would refuse to insert the clauses relative to having no treaties with Bantu or other tribes, forbidding the supply of ammunition to them, and guaranteeing an open market in ammunition to the Europeans.

When the volksraad met at Bloemfontein on the 22nd of November 1858, this subject came on for discussion. The views of the members were diverse. Some were in favour of federation with the Cape Colony, others in favour of union with the South African Republic, others again advocated an offensive and defensive alliance with either the colony or the republic. Numerously signed memorials were read in support of all these views. The first was strongly advocated by President Boshof, who was inclined even to favour unification, or the absolute incorporation of the Free State in the Cape Colony, as the interests of the two countries were identical. At that time it was hoped by some that Moshesh would respect the treaty just concluded and that Jan Letele could be kept in order. But these hopes had afterwards vanished, the authorities in England were opposed to extension of the British dominions in any way, and in consequence the advocates for union with the Transvaal people had increased in number.

On the 31st of August 1859 the volksraad adopted a resolution to send a commission to the government of the South African Republic to endeavour to arrange terms either

of union or alliance, which should afterwards be submitted to the people for approval. Nothing came of this, however, for the election of Mr. Pretorius so soon afterwards gave another direction to the movement.

On the 9th of February 1860, the day following that on which Mr. Pretorius became president of the Free State, the volksraad resolved to submit the question of union to the direct vote of the people, and if a majority should be found to favour it to apply to the British government for information as to the terms of a new convention. This resolution was carried out, with the result that in the whole state one thousand and seventy-six votes were given for union and one hundred and four against. The volksraad then resolved that this result should be communicated to the government of the South African Republic, and that a commission, consisting of Messrs. J. J. Venter, J. N. Uys, and J. Klopper, should proceed to Potchefstroom and confer with the authorities there.

The commission proceeded to carry out its instructions, and a conference took place with the executive council of the South African Republic, then consisting of Mr. J. H. Grobbelaar, acting president during the absence of Mr. Pretorius, Mr. S. Schoeman, commandant-general, Mr. J. H. Struben, state secretary, and Mr. W. Janse van Rensburg, unofficial member. Mr. M. W. Pretorius was present by general request. But now the people of the north were found less eager than they had once been for a single state. It would be purchased too dearly, they said, if the price was to be the conventions with the British government. The executive council of the South African Republic held that the Sand River convention must be preserved inviolate. If that could be done and a single state be formed they would be very glad, otherwise a friendly alliance was all that they were prepared for.

With this, the efforts to bring about the union of the republics may be said to have ceased, although the unionist party long hoped that Mr. Pretorius would be able to devise

some plan by which this project could be carried into effect.

Many Free State burghers who were not disposed to join the South African Republic, or who were indifferent to that project, had voted for the new president because he was the son of the famous emigrant leader who had broken the Zulu power, and because he had the reputation of considerable ability in dealing with coloured tribes. His strength lay in his disposition to conciliate, but he lacked the firmness necessary to a leader in troublous times.

As soon as possible after his assumption of office, President Pretorius proceeded to Kroonstad, where the burghers had recently been in rebellion owing to the appointment of a very unpopular man as landdrost. His reception was most cordial, for the district was occupied by the staunchest adherents of the unionist party. He left there Mr. Lodewyk J. Papenfus as provisional landdrost, and the volksraad during its next session confirmed the appointment.

Next the president arranged to have a personal conference with Moshesh. The meeting took place during the first five days of May, at Wonderkop, in the district of Winburg, and was made an occasion of festivity as well as of diplomatic intercourse. Moshesh came attended by his sons, vassals, and a body-guard of six thousand horsemen; Mr. Pretorius, to show his confidence in the great chief, would not permit more than twenty farmers to accompany him. Long speeches were made in the most friendly manner by the chief and his leading vassals, who acknowledged that their existence as a powerful tribe was due to the white people. Mr. Pretorius proposed to "Old Father Moshesh," as he termed him, to establish a combined European and Basuto tribunal on the border for the trial of thieves, and to support it with a body of Basuto police. To this the chief at once assented. It was agreed that the court should be stationed at Merumetsu, which place should thenceforth lose its old name and be called on this account "Ha-bo' Khotso," the Abode of Peace. A treaty to this

effect was drawn up and signed on the 4th of May. Thereafter the principal men on both sides dined together, when complimentary toasts were drunk, and Moshesh's educated sons sang English songs. The following morning the president reviewed the Basuto cavalry, and witnessed a grand dance, in which Moshesh himself took part. The meeting then broke up, and the farmers returned to their homes elated with hope that their troubles with the Basuto were at last at an end.

In a very few weeks that hope was lost. The aborigines in the district between the lower Caledon and the Orange had never been wholly exterminated, though possession of the land was so fiercely disputed by white men and Basuto. After the war of 1858, Poshuli constituted himself the patron of such Bushmen as remained, and furnished them with horses and guns, upon condition of receiving a portion of their plunder. He allowed them to live on his mountain, Vechtkop, which by the treaty of 1858 had become part of the Lesuto. There they served him as spies and sentinels, giving notice of approaching danger. The depredations of these robbers were frequently brought to the notice of Moshesh, whose reply was always that the Bushmen were not his subjects, and that the white people were at liberty to follow them up and punish them in his territories. In March 1860 a party of burghers accordingly pursued the Bushmen, but found that to attack them was to attack Poshuli also, and that there was no possibility of capturing them while under Basuto protection.

This was one of the questions brought forward at the Wonderkop conference, when Moshesh undertook to have the Bushmen removed from Vechtkop within ten days. He did not keep his engagement, however, and on the 20th of June these robbers, with some of Poshuli's Basuto, attacked and plundered a farmhouse during the absence of the head of the family, murdered a boy, and severely wounded two women and three children, the only other occupants. Mr. Pretorius immediately mustered a patrol, and followed the

robbers to Vechtkop, where six of them were shot; but the remainder escaped with the greater portion of the booty. The president then requested Moshesh to cause the stolen property to be restored and the murderers of the boy to be given up to the Free State authorities for trial, and also to inflict upon Poshuli such punishment as his crimes deserved. The great chief paid but little regard to this request, so it became evident to the burghers that the prospect of tranquillity which the Wonderkop conference gave for a moment would not be realised.

In August 1860 his royal highness Prince Alfred, when on a tour through South Africa, was waited upon by Moshesh at Aliwal North. The great chief was accompanied by twenty-five of his captains and an escort of three hundred men. To the prince he professed the most unbounded loyalty, and he did not hesitate to declare that in all his troubles he had been faithful in his allegiance to the queen. In somewhat vague language he asked that he might be restored to the position he occupied under the Napier treaty. This request, made by Moshesh to the colonial government, sometimes in one form sometimes in another, meant merely a desire on his part for such a relationship between the governor and himself as existed between him and one of his great vassals; it meant that he should be countenanced and patronised, without being subjected to control in the administration of the affairs of his tribe. It was not then known exactly what Moshesh wished, but this much was ascertained a little later, after an application which he made to the high commissioner towards the close of the following year.

At the beginning of April 1861 another conference took place between the president and the great chief, which lasted three days, and was conducted in a very friendly manner. It was held at Mabolela, the residence of Moperi, near Platberg. The establishment of a mixed court on the border was again referred to, when Moshesh professed once more to fall in with the president's views, but desired that

some other place than Merumetsu should be selected. Mr. Pretorius made no objection to this, and the chief and his counsellors promised to give effect to the late treaty.

The Basuto were then in occupation of many farms in the district of Winburg, and ignored altogether the boundary of the treaty of 1858. This matter was discussed at Mabolela, and Moshesh undertook to recall his people from farms belonging to burghers of the Free State, but he was careful not to admit that he had any knowledge of the line.

The boundary between the Free State and the Lesuto from Jammerberg Drift to Paul Smit's Berg was, however, arranged between the two parties, by a slight modification of the old line of Major Warden, in favour of Moshesh. But it was impossible to satisfy every one concerned in defining limits to territory. In this instance Moroko felt himself aggrieved, and complained that land equal to two full-sized farms had been taken from him.

This chief—Moroko—had always been held in great regard by the white people, partly on account of the assistance he had given to the early emigrants, but mainly owing to his inoffensive disposition. He was considered upright and honourable in his dealings, though intellectually inferior to Moshesh. Mr. Boshof had placed such confidence in him that no restraint was put upon his obtaining as much ammunition as he pleased, but Mr. Pretorius, in his desire not to offend Moshesh, had seen fit to place some restrictions upon this trade. Thereupon Moroko felt doubly aggrieved. The volksraad, however, as soon as these matters were brought before it, took steps to rectify them, for the members were anxious to keep on good terms with the Barolong.

The settlement of Nehemiah in Nomansland brought the Basuto into collision with the section of the Pondomsi tribe under Umbali, between whom and Faku, the ally of Moshesh, there was a long-standing feud. In 1860 hostilities broke out, but the operations were on a very petty

scale. In June of the following year Masupha and Poshuli went to Nehemiah's assistance with a large body of warriors, but were drawn into an ambuscade, and lost nearly all their horses, many guns, and thirty or forty men. The jealousy of his brothers which was felt by Letsie prevented further assistance being sent across the Drakensberg, and Nehemiah's influence there was consequently much weakened from this time forward. In February 1861 he had again requested Sir George Grey to "concur in his retention" of the district in which he had settled, but the governor made no reply to his letter.

Since Messrs. Casalis, Arbousset, and Gossellin first made their appearance in the Lesuto, a generation had grown up, and the results of the teaching of these missionaries and those who followed them were perceptible everywhere in the country, for indirectly nearly the whole mass of the population had been affected by their presence. Clothing, ironware, saddlery, &c., of English manufacture, had come largely into use, the value of such articles, first appreciated on mission stations, having soon been recognised by residents in kraals where the doctrines of Christianity had found no entrance. A considerable trade was carried on in the Lesuto by colonists who exchanged goods imported from England for wool, hides, millet, and even wheat. Unfortunately the French missionaries and English traders were not the only Europeans in the Lesuto. A number of renegades, deserters from the army, vagrants, and men of abandoned character, had taken up their abode in the country, and were teaching its people the vices of their class. They were engaged in various kinds of fraud, carried on a contraband trade in guns and ammunition, manufactured gunpowder, trafficked in stolen horses, and generally set a wretched example of debauchery and crime.

In September 1861 Mr. Van Soelen, landdrost of Bloemfontein, was sent to Thaba Bosigo as a special commissioner from the Free State government to ascertain from Moshesh when he would keep his promise to remove the Basuto from

the district of Winburg, and if he agreed to certain regulations drawn up by the Free State attorney-general for the establishment of the mixed court on the border.

Moshesh felt himself at that time in a position of security. Sir George Grey, of whose penetrating eye he had always stood in awe, had left South Africa. The Basuto were supplied with as many rifles and as much ammunition as they required, and though they had not succeeded in an attempt which they made to manufacture cannon, they had been able to procure several serviceable fieldpieces. With all the neighbouring tribes of any consequence they were on terms of close friendship.

Under these circumstances Moshesh spoke what he meant without any reservation or deception. He would not acknowledge a boundary line, nor had he any intention of withdrawing his subjects from the Winburg farms. As for the court at Ha-bo' Khotso, he rejected it altogether. Mr. Pretorius, he said, was free to have a police force in his own country and among his own people if he wished. But no courts excepting those of their own chiefs were needed by the Basuto.

This would seem to be a plain issue, but the republic was quite unable to enforce its rights. Moshesh's reply to Mr. Van Soelen signified not only that he set the Free State at defiance, but that he would keep neither treaties nor promises when it suited him to break them.

Notwithstanding the disturbed condition of the Basuto border, the country was making rapid advances in prosperity. In the west the population was increasing so steadily that in February 1861 the volksraad resolved to form another district south of Boshof, to which the name Jacobsdal was given.

At the close of this year a purchase of land was effected which added greatly to the stability of the state. Ever since 1854 individual Griqua proprietors in the district between the Riet and the Orange had been selling farms to Europeans. The new occupants, who were mostly emigrants from

the Cape Colony, came immediately under the jurisdiction of the landdrost of Fauresmith, and after six months residence became burghers of the Free State. Adam Kok retained exclusive control over the Griquas in the district, and his government kept possession of all the unappropriated land. An idle Griqua, who made little or no use of the six or seven thousand acres of ground which he called his farm, could not resist the temptation of a couple of hundred golden sovereigns or a lot of showy merchandise which he could at once enjoy. The time was thus quickly approaching when the Griquas must be paupers if they remained where they were.

It had been found impossible to maintain the petty states created by the Napier and Maitland treaties. But the treaties had been made, and it could not be disputed that they gave the coloured tribes who had been parties to them strong claims to the consideration of the British authorities in South Africa. Adam Kok had on more than one occasion fought side by side with English troops. He had done nothing to deserve abandonment. The cancellation by Sir George Clerk of the treaties with him, leaving the argument for its necessity in abeyance, was indisputably a violent act.

Sir George Grey felt that he was morally bound to do something for Kok and his Griquas. He therefore offered them a large and fertile tract of country along the head waters of the Umzimhlava and Umzimvubu rivers. They sent a party to inspect it, and upon receipt of a favourable report they prepared to move. There was no lack of purchasers for the farms that were left between the Riet and Orange rivers. There was such competition for them, indeed, that in many instances they brought remarkably high prices, for their position was far from Bantu locations.

After all the ground in possession of private individuals was sold, the Griqua clan, numbering about three thousand souls, including the followers of the late captain Cornelis Kok and a good many blacks of different tribes who had

recently joined them, moved off in a body towards their new home; but they did not arrive at Mount Currie, close to the present village of Kokstad, until January 1863. The interval was spent on the border of the Lesuto, where overtures were made to Kok to occupy the new country as a vassal of Moshesh. When he rejected these advances Poshuli's followers began to plunder him, and he had hardly been in his new home a month when he was obliged to write to the high commissioner complaining of Nehemiah. The object of the Basuto chiefs was to compel the Griquas to become Moshesh's subjects or to leave the country.

On the 8th of June 1863 Nehemiah again wrote to the high commissioner asking for a chart of the district, and stating that "Moshesh was satisfied on account of her Majesty's government having formally ceded the territory to his son." Almost simultaneously Sir Philip Wodehouse received a letter from Adam Kok informing him that Nehemiah had incited several of the petty chiefs on Faku's border to attack him, and that Poshuli had crossed over to share in the plunder. Reports from the colonial officers on the frontier left no doubt of the correctness of Kok's statement. The high commissioner determined not to interfere, but to let the disputing parties fight their quarrel out. On the 4th of August he wrote to Nehemiah declining to furnish a map and denying that the country had ever been ceded to him by her Majesty's government, and then he left matters to take their course.

All through 1863 and 1864 the quarrel continued, without either side gaining an advantage. In 1864 Lehana with some of his followers moved into Nomansland from the Wittebergen reserve, and joined his forces to those of Kok.

In March 1865 the Griquas made a supreme effort, and succeeded in driving the robber bands of Nehemiah and Poshuli from their fastnesses. These marauders managed, however, to get their cattle and effects safely into the Lesuto. In May they swooped down with a large force and secured a considerable quantity of plunder, but before they

could get away with it they were attacked by the Griquas and were routed, when most of their followers were made prisoners. This event compelled them to abandon the country below the mountains, and for several years Moshesh's followers made no further attempt to occupy it. The Griquas then settled in the present districts of Kokstad and Umzimkulu, where each head of a family had a cattle-run of the usual size allotted to him.

On the 26th of December 1861 Adam Kok and his council, through their agent Henry Harvey, signed a document whereby all the unappropriated land, together with the sovereign rights over the whole of their possessions north of the Orange, were ceded to the Free State, in consideration of a payment of four thousand pounds sterling.

This purchase gave the Free State a great accession of strength, and it solved a question that had been a cause of irritation for twenty years. In the next session of the volksraad it was resolved that a special justice of the peace should be stationed at Philippolis, and that the landdrost of Fauresmith should hold a court there once a month. But the president was authorised, in case this arrangement should not be found satisfactory, to station a landdrost there and form a new district. This was the course adopted by Mr. Pretorius, and on the 22nd of April 1862 Mr. J. F. van Iddekinge was appointed first landdrost of the new district of Philippolis. Six months later he was succeeded by Mr. Frederik K. Höhne.

The Free State therefore at this date was divided into the districts of Winburg, Bloemfontein, Smithfield, Harrismith, Fauresmith, Boshof, Kroonstad, Bethulie, Jacobsdal, and Philippolis. Bethulie and Jacobsdal were subsequently for a short time made sub-districts, for the sake of economy; but this arrangement was merely temporary.

In the early days of 1862 the district between the Orange and the lower Caledon was convulsed by disturbances more serious than any which had previously taken place. On the night of the 3rd of January two of Poshuli's captains,

with Moshesh's concurrence, crossed the boundary and attacked Jan Letele's clan, killed several of his people, set fire to his kraals, and drove off the whole of his cattle. The farmers in the neighbourhood were in great alarm, and abandoning their homesteads, they went into lager as fast as possible. A despatch was sent with all haste to the president at Bloemfontein. Mr. Pretorius at once proceeded to Smithfield, where he found men gathering in arms from the country far and near. Jan Letele was threatening immediate retaliation, in which case a general war could hardly be prevented. Already this vagabond was driving the partisans of Moshesh from the mission station Beersheba. The traders were hurrying from the Lesuto, believing their lives to be in danger.

At that time Mr. Joseph M. Orpen, who had long since left the service of the Free State, was residing at Beersheba. This gentleman was known throughout South Africa as a personal friend of Moshesh and a staunch supporter of what he held to be Basuto interests. For some years his influence at Thaba Bosigo was greater than that of any other white man, not even excepting the old missionaries, with whose views regarding the tribe he was in general accord.

On this occasion he resolved to prevent a war, if possible, with which object he hastened to Moshesh's residence. The chief himself was not desirous of pushing the matter further, for he was always anxious to make it appear that his opponents were the first to break the peace, and in this instance it was clear that he could not do so. Mr. Orpen advised him to attach his seal to a letter to the president, proposing a friendly settlement and promising to restrain his followers from attacking Letele; and to forward it by two members of his own family, who should remain with Mr. Pretorius as pledges of his sincerity. To this Moshesh agreed. His son Tsekelo and a young man of Letsie's household were sent as hostages, and their arrival at the president's headquarters was followed by an immediate cessation of the excitement that had up to that moment prevailed.

Mr. Pretorius received Moshesh's overtures with great satisfaction. He replied that he found much to blame on the part of Letele, and that he had placed an officer in charge of this chief, who would not in future be permitted to cross the border. He announced his intention of appointing a commission to investigate the causes of the disturbances, and invited the great chief's coöperation.

The commission consisted of Messrs. Charles Sirr Orpen, Robert Finlay, Pieter Wessels, Jan Olivier, Job Harvey, and A. Swanepoel. After taking evidence during a fortnight, on the 5th of February they sent in a report, which was most damaging to Jan Letele. The robberies from the Basuto of Moshesh committed by his retainers were proved to exceed in value those committed by the Basuto of Moshesh from him. A number of degraded white men were found to be mixed up in these proceedings. They encouraged robbers on both sides by acting as disposers of stolen property, diverting to themselves the larger portion of the ill-gotten gains. The commission recommended as the only effectual remedy the removal of Jan Letele's people from the border, the allotment of ample lands elsewhere for their maintenance, and the establishment of a powerful police. But this implied resources in men and money which the Free State had not then at its command. What was possible to be done in that direction by a community so small, so jealous of its rulers, and so averse to taxation, was attempted. A few policemen were engaged, and an officer — Daniel Foley by name—was appointed with the title of superintendent, to endeavour to exercise some control over the blacks between the Orange and the Caledon.

Jan Letele never fully recovered from the losses he sustained on this occasion. In 1863 he was invited to remove to the northern part of the state, where he was offered an ample tract of excellent land; but he declined the proposal. In the course of the next two years a good many of his followers, finding that he was no longer the lucky robber captain he had formerly been, abandoned him and went over

to one or other of Moshesh's vassals. He and a little band of adherents remained behind to be a source of constant anxiety to the Free State government. We shall meet him again in this history, but never more in a condition to play an important part in the disturbances of the country.

On the 15th of January 1862, while the occurrences just related were filling all minds with anxiety, Sir Philip Wodehouse arrived at Capetown and assumed office as governor of the colony and her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa. Twelve days later he wrote letters which prove that Basuto affairs must have occupied much of his attention during the interval. To Moshesh he said that a commission was about to proceed to the Lesuto to ascertain his views and wishes respecting his and his people's relationship to the colony. To President Pretorius he wrote in terms of strong remonstrance and emphatic warning. The disturbances, he said, were caused by Jan Letele, but the responsibility rested with the Free State government that had not compelled him to live in an orderly manner. If his depredations were not suppressed, the British authorities would be compelled to set aside the existing treaties and make new arrangements for the preservation of the peace of the country. Mr. Pretorius replied, explaining the action of the Free State government, asserting that Letele's raids were only retaliations upon Posh̄uli, and stating his intention of appealing to her Majesty if the treaties were set aside. Thus the intercourse between Sir Philip Wodehouse and the president was unfriendly from the very first.

Before the close of the month Messrs. Joseph M. Orpen and John Burnet were appointed a commission to visit Moshesh and obtain information as to what he really wanted, the language of his letters being too vague to be understood. From the 11th to the 21st of February they held conferences with him and the leading men of his tribe at Thaba Bosigo, and ascertained that what the chief desired was merely that a diplomatic agent of the British government should be stationed with him, and that the high com-

missioner should recognise his ownership of the land below the mountains on which Nehemiah was living, which he claimed as having been ceded to him by the Pondo chief Faku. He did not propose to part with any authority over his people, but desired to be under the shield of England in order to extend that authority over a larger area.

As regards the land below the Drakensberg, Sir Philip Wodehouse refused to admit Faku's right to cede it to the Basuto, but on the 13th of May he wrote to Moshesh that he would not disturb Nehemiah there as long as that individual conducted himself as a faithful friend of the British government. Nehemiah was not satisfied with this promise, however, and endeavoured to obtain some document which at a future period might give him a claim to the district. On the 27th of November he wrote to the governor thanking him for permission to occupy the land, and requesting that he might be supplied with a chart of it. An account has already been given of Nehemiah's occupation of the district from this date until he was driven out by the Griquas of Adam Kok.

The secretary of state took Moshesh's desire to have a British agent resident with him into favourable consideration, and on the 5th of June 1862 wrote to the high commissioner approving of such an arrangement, if the services of a trustworthy and judicious person could be obtained. But the governor professed to find a difficulty in the selection of a suitable officer, and the project was never carried out.

CHAPTER LIV.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE FROM 1862 TO 1865.

PRIOR to this date the principal disturbances had taken place along the south-western border of the Lesuto, but after the ruin of Jan Letele by Poshuli in January 1862 that part of the country remained for some years in a condition of comparative peace. The scene of strife henceforth was confined to the territory on the north forming the districts of Winburg and Harrismith.

Wherever there was vacant land in these districts small parties of Basuto settled on it, and as soon as they had got a foothold they commenced to encroach on the occupied farms. There was no police to check them. They did not go as warriors, but as settlers, taking their families with them, and professing that nothing was further from their thoughts than hostilities with the farmers. Now and then, however, a murder was committed, and thefts of stock became alarmingly frequent.

In March 1862 the volksraad appointed a commission, consisting of three of its members—Messrs. J. J. Venter, J. Klopper, and J. Schutte—to proceed to Thaba Bosigo and remonstrate with Moshesh. They were to demand that the murderers of a young man named Philip Venter should be given up for trial by the Free State courts, in conformity with the sixth clause of the treaty of 1858. The murder had taken place in the district of Winburg in November 1861, and a son of Moshesh's brother Mohali was implicated in it. Next the commission was to propose that Moshesh should cede to the Free State a small piece of land in compensation for the cattle stolen by his people.

And lastly, they were to request Moshesh to send some of his principal men with them to inspect the northern line, that no one might be able thereafter to say he was unacquainted with it.

The commissioners proceeded to Thaba Bosigo, and after some delay Moshesh fixed nine o'clock on the morning of the 17th of March for an interview. Punctually to the time appointed they were at his door, when the great chief sent them word they must wait till he had finished drinking his coffee, and then took no further notice of them or their messages. Mortified by the insult, but preserving their dignity as well as they could, the commissioners sent to Moshesh to say that they were about to leave the mountain, and would remain at its foot till the next day; if he wished to speak to them he must follow. On their way down they met Masupha, who asked them to return, which they promised to do if Moshesh would send for them.

After a while a messenger came and invited them to go back. They complied, and in the afternoon met Moshesh and his counsellors, to whom they made known the objects of their mission. No reply was given that day. Several interviews took place subsequently, but though at the last Moshesh assumed a friendly tone, he would do nothing satisfactory. He declined to surrender the men charged with murdering Venter, but said he was willing to make the family of the murdered man some compensation in cattle, according to Bantu custom. As for the northern boundary, he entirely ignored it. Who made it, he asked, and what right had they to define it? It was not his act, and he did not feel bound by it.

The volksraad then determined to appeal to the high commissioner. The president, Mr. M. W. Pretorius, and the government secretary, Mr. Joseph Allison, were requested to proceed to Capetown, and were charged (*a*) to endeavour to obtain from the government of the Cape Colony a share of the customs duties levied at the ports on goods brought into the country, (*b*) to ascertain from Sir Philip Wodehouse

the cause of the unfriendly language towards the Free State used in his correspondence and in his speech at the opening of the Cape parliament, (*c*) to supply full information concerning the conduct of the Free State and of Moshesh, (*d*) to request the governor to send a commission to point out the line between the Europeans and the people of Moshesh fixed by the Sovereignty government and confirmed in the treaty of 1858 as the boundary line of the Lesuto, and (*e*) to request the governor to act as arbitrator between the Free State and the South African Republic in the matter of the boundary between them, as one republic claimed the Klip river, and the other the Likwa, or upper Vaal, as the dividing line.

When this intelligence was conveyed to Moshesh he caused a letter to be written to the president, in which he stated that he was sending his brother Moperi and his son George to be present at the erection of beacons along the line. Some commissioners on the part of the Free State were thereupon appointed, but they were so thoroughly convinced that Moshesh was not in earnest that they failed to appear at Winburg at the appointed time. This gave the great chief an opportunity to assert that it was not he, but the Free State, that was putting obstacles in the way, though in his next letter he admitted that Moperi and George had only been sent to see the line and report to him, that he might thereafter approve or disapprove of it.

In July 1862 Messrs. Pretorius and Allison arrived in Capetown. They failed to obtain a share of the customs duties, and were unable to induce Sir Philip Wodehouse to arbitrate on the disputed boundary between the two republics.

With regard to their case with Moshesh they laid a mass of documentary evidence before the high commissioner. They asserted that all the farms for fifteen miles (twenty-four kilometres) on the Free State side of the Warden line were at that time occupied by Basuto, and they requested his Excellency to send a commission to point out to Moshesh

the boundary as defined by Sir Harry Smith during the British occupation. Sir Philip Wodehouse consented, provided both parties would bind themselves to accept his definition of the line, and he wrote to Moshesh to ascertain if he was willing to do so. The great chief would not give a direct refusal, but sought some pretext for evasion, that he might at least gain time to push his people farther forward. His answer was therefore that he would prefer to have the boundary settled by direct negotiation between himself and the Free State, but failing that he would agree to the appointment of a commission by the governor.

While this correspondence between the high commissioner and Moshesh was going on, the Free State authorities were writing most urgent letters entreating his Excellency to use all haste in interfering, as otherwise the condition of affairs must lead to war. At the beginning of November they first learned Moshesh's plans for gaining time, and immediately appointed another commission, more with the object of proving that they were doing all that was possible to preserve peace, than with any hope of arranging matters.

Moshesh now increased his efforts to push back the Europeans. Great hunting parties were sent far into the Free State, with instructions to drive the game through the farmers' flocks and herds and past their very doors. These parties polluted the water in the reservoirs, damaged the gardens, and insulted and terrified the owners of the ground. In several instances farmers were driven from their homes by violence. A small police force had been raised, but it was too weak to be of any use, and there were no funds to employ more men. In the Lesuto public meetings were held, at which the best methods of driving back the farmers were openly discussed, and arrangements for farther advances were made. The lawless condition of the disturbed districts cannot be better exemplified than by the following circumstance. On one occasion an exasperated farmer named Fouche shot a Mosuto. The next day a party of Basuto went and murdered the farmer's son in

retaliation. And on neither side could any punishment be inflicted.

During the summer of 1862-3 the Basuto generally were in a state of excitement, for in addition to the effort to enlarge their territory, a movement of a religious nature was taking place. Certain individuals who professed to have communication with the spirit world were exhorting the people to reject the teaching of the missionaries, and were everywhere being listened to with attention. Moshesh himself was encouraging the introduction anew of old rites and customs, which in some places had partially fallen into disuse. The utterances of the revivalists showed in a grotesque manner the effect on the whole mass of the people which Christian teaching during thirty years had in modifying the ancient Bantu creed. Their fathers, when first told of the existence of a God who was not the spirit of an ancient chief, did not dispute the fact, but in a vague way stated their opinion that he resided in the bowels of the earth. One of these revivalists, who professed to have had direct communication with the Great Being, now found him above in the skies, though another met him below. He had become in their ideas a Great Chief, the road to whose residence was not a narrow path, as the missionaries declared it to be, but a broad highway constantly full of crowds of people. He was a polygamist, they asserted, Jesus was his son by one wife, the Holy Spirit by another. And yet, so irrational were they, the spirits of the dead chiefs of the segments of their tribe were the sole objects of their prayers and sacrifices, without any inquiry as to whether the God thus depicted was one of them or not.

On the 28th of November the state secretary wrote to Moshesh that a commission consisting of Messrs. C. von Brandis, landdrost of Winburg, W. G. Every, commandant of the police, J. Schutte, and R. du Toit had been appointed to coöperate with his representatives in settling the boundary, and that Mr. Von Brandis had been empowered to arrange the details and time of meeting with him. No reply

to this communication was made before the 1st of January 1863. Then, by Moshesh's instructions, the reverend Mr. Jousse wrote to Mr. Von Brandis that "the Basuto were busy in their gardens and had no time to spare for anything else at the moment."

On the 14th of January 1863 President Pretorius again addressed Sir Philip Wodehouse, informing him of Moshesh's insincerity and urging him to appoint a commission. This letter had the effect of causing his Excellency to press upon Moshesh the necessity of arranging matters amicably, which he once more promised to do.

Again therefore the Free State government appointed a commission—Messrs. Venter, De Villiers, Schutte, and Naude—who proceeded to Thaba Bosigo, and there, on the 2nd of March, were joined by a few men of no rank or position in the tribe, whom Moshesh sent to report the proceedings. To these people every beacon along the line was shown, and they then returned to their chief. On the 9th of April Moshesh wrote to the high commissioner that the line shown to his delegates cut off a considerable number of villages inhabited by Basuto, adding that he trusted the government of the Free State would not insist upon it, and asking for advice.

At this stage Mr. Pretorius retired from the presidency of the Free State. On the 1st of October 1862 he had tendered his resignation to the volksraad, assigning as his reason that he desired to return to the South African Republic and endeavour to restore concord to that country, which was then politically in a deplorable condition. The volksraad in reply informed him that his services could not be dispensed with at that juncture, and requested him not to press the matter until the ordinary session in February following. On the 5th of March 1863 he again tendered his resignation, but was requested by the volksraad to withdraw it; and a resolution was adopted granting him leave of absence. He proceeded to Potchefstroom, where a sore domestic bereavement awaited him. On the 20th of March

his only son died, being the tenth child that he had lost, and he was then left with but one daughter. On the 15th of April he sent a final letter of resignation to the state secretary.

During the last year of Mr. Pretorius's tenure of office the Free State had not made much advance in wealth or in population. Still there were a few events denoting progress which should be recorded. On the 24th of February 1862 the first building lots of the church village of Edenburg in the district of Fauresmith were sold. On the 19th of June of the same year the Bloemfontein bank was established. This was quickly followed by a local bank in Fauresmith, and this again was succeeded by branches of the Standard bank at Bloemfontein, Fauresmith, and Smithfield. In June 1862 the Paris Evangelical Society sold to some farmers the mission station of Beersheba as it had been reduced in size by the treaty of 1858. The reverend Mr. Rolland removed to a new station called Poortje, within the border of the Lesuto. The price for which Beersheba was sold was £6,000. Thus, one after another, the reserves of the Sovereignty days were disappearing, and the complications which they caused were passing away.

On receipt of Mr. Pretorius's letter of the 15th of April 1863, Mr. Allison called the volksraad together in extraordinary session. The members assembled on the 17th of June, and on the 20th appointed Mr. Jacobus Johannes Venter acting president until a regular election should take place. For the next seven months Mr. Venter was at the head of the state.

The volksraad decided to recommend only one candidate to the electors, and from several whose names were brought forward chose for that purpose Advocate John Henry Brand, a gentleman of the highest standing at the bar of the supreme court of the Cape Colony, and whose moral and intellectual worth was generally recognised throughout South Africa. The 5th of November was fixed as the day of election.

In May a deputation consisting of Messrs. Job Harvey, W. G. Every, P. Greyling, and J. Olivier, had been sent to Moshesh, to endeavour to induce him to recall his people who were trespassing. The deputation met the great chief with his principal men at Morija, and on the 28th a public conference took place. Moshesh refused either to recognise the line or recall his people. He would not even promise to punish thieves as long, he said, as Jan Letele was protected by the Europeans. Nothing whatever was settled. But on the following day Moshesh proposed that another commission should be sent, in order that he might point out where he wished the boundary to be.

Among the residents along the Basuto border there were still some individuals who regarded either the incorporation of the country with the Cape Colony, or a federal union, as the only means for getting rid of their troubles. Moshesh, they said, was so powerful that by themselves they could not deal with him, and the Free State was therefore obliged to submit to his exactions. The matter was brought by memorial before the volksraad which met in June, when a discussion took place in which the wretched condition of the petitioners was recognised, and a resolution was adopted that the legislature would not rest until the border was secure. But the only means that the members could devise was to empower the acting president to arrange with Moshesh to allow the Free State to pay regular salaries to the border chiefs for the suppression of robbery, and to give special rewards for the delivery of thieves and stolen stock,—which proved utterly useless.

Then followed another letter to the high commissioner, and again another, imploring his intervention. All had been done, said the state authorities, that was in their power to bring Moshesh to reason, but without avail. After this, Landdrost Van Soelen was sent to ascertain from Moshesh and Letsie whether the intruders could be forcibly expelled without those chiefs taking their part, to which Moshesh replied significantly that he was their ruler. And even

while Mr. Van Soelen was talking, Sophonia, with a thousand men at his back, was hunting far beyond the border and defying the farmers.

On the 27th of August the high commissioner wrote to Moshesh that in conformity with the second article of the treaty of Aliwal North he was willing to appoint commissioners "for the purpose of marking out so much of the boundary line described in the first article of that treaty as lay to the northward of Jammerberg Drift; but before doing so wished to receive the chief's assurance that he would be prepared to carry out their award."

Moshesh now saw that he must do something, or the high commissioner would be offended. He therefore, after creating as many delays as he could, consented to Mr. Venter's proposal that they should meet personally with a view of coming to a friendly arrangement. On the 25th of November the conference took place at Platberg, when there was a large gathering of subordinate chiefs and leading men. Moshesh rejected the Warden line, but proposed in writing a new boundary which would extend the Lesuto to the Vaal river and cut off from the Free State nearly half the districts of Winburg and Harrismith, including about two hundred and fifty farms held under British titles. Such a proposal could not, of course, be entertained by the acting president.

The year closed with another appeal from Mr. Venter to the high commissioner, to which a reply was made that his Excellency was ready to render assistance in concert with both parties.

On the 16th of November 1863 the first building lots of the village of Rouxville were sold. The farm Zuurbult in the Smithfield district had been purchased by a committee, and laid out as a church place in the usual manner.

On the day appointed for the election of a president a great majority of the burghers voted in accordance with the recommendation of the volksraad. Three thousand four hundred and fifty votes in all were given. Of these, two

thousand two hundred and seventy-six were for Advocate Brand, nine hundred and four for Mr. J. J. Venter, two hundred and forty-three for Mr. T. H. Bowker, and twenty-seven for Mr. J. Allison. On the 2nd of February 1864 Advocate Brand took the oaths of office as president of the Orange Free State.

The republic had now been ten years in existence, and several clauses in the constitution adopted in 1854 were found to need alteration. No change whatever had yet been made in it, with the exception of the one already mentioned concerning the nomination of candidates for the presidency and a clause which had been added in 1857 empowering the state secretary to take part in the debates of the volksraad. During the session of the volksraad in February 1864 this subject was considered, and several clauses of the constitution were amended. As the changes required to be approved of in three yearly sessions, they did not come into force until February 1866.

After that date burghers consisted of (*a*) all white persons born in the country, (*b*) all white persons resident in the country for one year and possessing fixed property to the value of £150 registered in their names, and (*c*) all white persons resident for three successive years in the country.

Persons coming under either of the last two clauses were required to produce a written certificate of good conduct from the authorities of their former place of residence, and give a written promise of fidelity to the state and obedience to its laws, when the president was directed to supply a certificate of burghership.

All youths on reaching the age of sixteen years and all other persons on obtaining certificates of burghership were required to inscribe their names with the fieldcornet of the ward in which they resided, and were made liable to perform military service until they should attain the age of sixty years.

All burghers over eighteen years of age were declared entitled to vote for commandants and fieldcornets.

In the election of a president and members of the volksraad the following classes of burghers of full age were declared entitled to vote: (*a*) those born in the state, (*b*) those in possession of unmortgaged landed property to the value of £150 registered in their names, (*c*) lessees of landed property at a yearly rental of £36, (*d*) those in receipt of a fixed yearly income of £200, and (*e*) those resident in the state for three years and possessing movable property worth £300.

It was required of members of the volksraad that they should be burghers, twenty-five years of age, owners of unmortgaged landed property to the value of £200, and never have been convicted of crime.

The duties of the volksraad were defined to be the making of laws, and the control of the administration and the finances. Its ordinary sessions were fixed to take place at Bloemfontein on the first Monday in May of every year. It was to consist of one member for each fieldcornetcy and one for the seat of magistracy of each district, who were to be those receiving the greatest number of votes. Villages other than seats of magistracy were excluded from returning members.

It was resolved that the constitution as thus amended could not be altered again except by the approval of three-fourths of the volksraad given in two successive yearly sessions.

Provision was made for the extension of education. Itinerant teachers, who could give instruction to the children of farmers, were to receive salaries from the state, and in each district town there was to be a government aided school under the management of a committee composed of the landdrost, the clergyman, and three members elected by contributors to the school funds. The system of education, though humble compared with what it is at present, was thus as good as in most new countries. Its apex was the Grey college at Bloemfontein, founded some years earlier in accordance with plans designed by Sir George Grey.

There was a question which came before the volksraad for decision during this session, which did not seem of much importance at the time, but which in later years was one of the greatest difficulties the republic had to meet. Adam Kok had sold his territorial rights to the government of President Pretorius, the question was how far did those territorial rights extend. Concerning the country which he originally claimed there could be no dispute. But Cornelis Kok, of Campbell, had some time before his death formally ceded his chieftainship to his nephew Adam Kok, who for several years was undisputed head of the Campbell people and their territory. Was this ground included in the sale? The Free State government maintained that it was; Mr. David Arnot, agent for the captain Nicholas Waterboer, asserted that it was not, and that his client was its rightful owner.

Like all the Griqua captains, Cornelis Kok had laid claim to a tract of country twenty times as great as he had any use for. There was no treaty with him, but Sir Harry Smith and the Sovereignty government applied exactly the same principle to him as to Adam Kok. In the case of the latter, individual proprietorship of ground was recognised between the Modder and Riet rivers, but there the chief lost his sovereign rights, which were limited to the district between the Riet and the Orange. In the case of Cornelis Kok, proprietorship of ground was recognised between the lower Vaal and Modder rivers, but his sovereign rights were confined to the territory beyond the Vaal. This was the condition of matters when the republic came into existence, and it had remained so ever since.

Adam Kok, by a notice published in the *Friend of the Free State* of the 26th December 1862, denied that the territory north of the Vaal—known as the Campbell grounds —was included in his sale, although there was no reserve whatever in the document passed by his agent, and the people of that district had moved to Griqualand East with him. His repudiation of the sale and Mr. Arnot's

claim on behalf of Waterboer came first before the volksraad in February 1863, when it was decided that a commission consisting of the president and Messrs. Van Soelen and F. Cloete should meet a commission to be appointed by Waterboer and settle the matter amicably. This had not been effected, and Sir Philip Wodehouse was then requested to act as arbitrator. His Excellency consented, and on the 11th of February 1864 the volksraad approved of the question being submitted to his decision. But Waterboer then refused to sign the deed of submission. President Brand expressed an opinion that the best arrangement would be to offer Waterboer the Campbell grounds in exchange for the tract of land between the Orange, the line from Ramah towards David's Graf, and the Vetberg line, over which his sovereignty had been recognised in October 1855. This land, though less valuable for farming purposes, was on the Free State side of the Vaal, and its acquisition would give the republic a clear river boundary. The advantage of the exchange was admitted by some of the members, but the volksraad did not adopt the proposal to make Waterboer the offer.

Mr. Arnot was now, however, putting forward claims on behalf of his client to a very much larger tract of country than the Campbell territory, for on the 21st of November 1863 he inserted a notice in the *Colesberg Advertiser* that Waterboer's eastern boundary was a line from Ramah on the Orange to David's Graf at the junction of the Riet and Modder, and thence to Platberg on the Vaal. He thus advanced pretensions to land which for fifteen years had been in the peaceable and undisputed occupation of the Sovereignty and Free State governments, and which included the former Korana and Bushman reserves as well as many farms held by Europeans. The government of the Free State considered this claim so extravagant that no attempt was made to refute it.

There had always been in the Free State a party—chiefly consisting of residents in the villages—in favour of union

with the Cape Colony. Of late years this party had increased in strength, owing to the difficulties with Moshesh and to the refusal of the Cape government to surrender any portion of the customs duties on imported goods. Its leading members argued that by union with the Cape Colony such assistance would be forthcoming as would enable them to deal with the Basuto without danger of defeat, and that they would then enjoy their fair share of the customs revenue. In a condition of isolation, they maintained, the Free State was obliged to try to keep the Basuto tribe in check for the benefit, not of itself alone, but of the whole of South Africa, and at the same time was deprived of funds that justly belonged to it and that by union it would receive in the form of a strong police force on the border. In June 1864 memorials in favour of annexation to the Cape Colony, signed by one thousand five hundred and fifty burghers, were laid before the volksraad. But the party, though forming a respectable minority in the country, was unable to impress the volksraad with its views, so as to get a resolution carried in accordance with its desires. The majority of the farmers were averse to union with the colony, as they set a high value upon their independence.

The number of churches in the republic was rapidly increasing. In 1854, when British sovereignty was withdrawn, there were only two clergymen in the whole country, exclusive of the missionaries with the blacks. In November 1864 a general assembly at Smithfield decided that the Dutch Reformed church of the Orange Free State should be an independent body governed by a synod of its own. The first synod met at Smithfield on the 10th of May 1865, and continued in session until the 14th. There were then eleven congregations in the republic, of which seven were provided with ministers. In the first synod the seven clergymen and fifteen elders took part, seven other elders being prevented from attending by the unsettled condition of the country.

In addition to the Dutch Reformed church—the body to which the great majority of the inhabitants belonged—there was a branch of the Separatist Reformed church, with a clergyman at Reddersburg. The Wesleyans had congregations and clergymen in a few of the villages, and the church of England was represented by several congregations with a staff of clergymen presided over by a bishop—the right reverend Edward Twells—who arrived in September 1863.

A matter that was at this time occupying the attention of many people in the republic was the existence of banking institutions whose shareholders and directors were resident in Europe. It was feared that the Standard bank might acquire a power in the country dangerous to freedom, and it was generally believed that its operations were designed exclusively for the benefit of shareholders abroad, who had no other interest in the country than to make as large a profit as possible. Public opinion at length grew so strong that in March 1865 a law was passed by the volksraad that no foreign bank would be allowed in the Free State after the beginning of the next year.

As this enactment would cause foreign capital to be withdrawn, the volksraad resolved to create a paper currency, and constitute it a legal tender. On the 10th of March 1865 a creation of notes to the value of £30,000 was authorised. They were to be signed by the president and treasurer-general, were to be a legal tender for ten years, and after that period were to be redeemed at the rate of £6,000 yearly. They were issued on the security of government property. This capital was lent to the Bloemfontein bank, on payment of a yearly interest of six per cent. The notes, which were commonly called bluebacks from the colour of the paper on which they were printed, first came into circulation on the 15th of April 1865.

On the 3rd of February 1864 the volksraad empowered President Brand again to request the high commissioner to point out the boundary between the Free State and the Lesuto, and on the 5th the president wrote in the strongest

language, entreating him to do so. To this the now stereotyped reply was received that his Excellency was willing, if his mediation was distinctly accepted by both parties. And to bring the matter to a close, the high commissioner not only wrote to Moshesh asking him to state plainly whether he would accept or decline the proposal, but he directed Mr. Burnet to proceed to Thaba Bosigo and personally confer with the great chief.

Mr. Burnet, in reporting the result of his mission, stated that he found Moshesh pretending to be ignorant of both the Warden line and the treaty of Aliwal North, and refusing to listen to a word about either. He talked with his children and missionaries from Monday till Wednesday evening, and then came to a conclusion which he embodied in a letter, and which left him free to do what he liked, if he should not be satisfied with the high commissioner's decision. Mr. Burnet told him that he would make no arrangement for the mediation upon any such document. He had drafted an act of acceptance, which was fully and clearly translated by the reverend Messrs. Maitin and Mabille, and after much wild rambling talk at eleven o'clock at night the great chief signed it. Mr. Burnet added that it was only fear of the British government which induced Moshesh to agree to the mediation.

And so at last there was a prospect of relief before the Free State, for the government and people cherished the hope that if the high commissioner pointed out the line Moshesh would respect it. The president wrote to his Excellency expressing his warmest and most sincere thanks, and the volksraad, with every demonstration of satisfaction, appointed two of its members—Messrs. C. J. de Villiers and H. A. L. Hamelberg—to form with the president a deputation to meet his Excellency and represent the state.

Mr. Burnet was directed to confer with the president, and make the necessary arrangements for the high commissioner's journey. The Free State provided transport waggons and horses, which were sent on to Aliwal North.

It was arranged that the work of inspecting the line should be commenced on the 14th of March, and all the parties were to meet at Mekuatling on that date, but very heavy rains set in, and a week's postponement became necessary. This gave Moshesh an opportunity to seek further delay, and he wrote requesting that on account of the heavy rains and swollen rivers the meeting might be postponed indefinitely.

On the 16th of March the high commissioner arrived at Aliwal North. The Free State deputation was in waiting upon the opposite bank of the river. But now a difficulty entirely unforeseen arose. On the 26th of February, before leaving Grahamstown, the high commissioner had written to the president that he was undertaking the journey in the supposition that he would be allowed to make such modifications of the line as he might consider just and reasonable and calculated to ensure the maintenance of peaceful relations. The Free State government was desirous that his Excellency should point out the line defined by Major Warden, proclaimed by Sir Harry Smith, and ratified in the treaty of Aliwal North; but was willing that he should make such modifications in it as both parties might agree to. When Sir Philip Wodehouse reached Aliwal North, he addressed a letter to the president, asking for a clear understanding on this point. The president could only reply in terms of the Free State view. Under the constitution, the volksraad was the only authority that could grant such powers as the high commissioner desired, and that body was not then in session. Several letters passed between the high commissioner and the president, and on the morning of the 17th they had a personal interview. It ended by Sir Philip Wodehouse declining to proceed on the mission, the difference between his views and the powers of the Free State deputation remaining as implied in the phrases "what the high commissioner may consider just and reasonable" and "what the Free State and Basuto deputations may think expedient."

From Aliwal North Sir Philip Wodehouse proceeded to Morija, where he met Moshesh. The great chief spoke in his usual manner of his love of peace, and promised the high commissioner to abstain from all acts of hostility towards the Free State. But such promises were valueless, for his people continued as before to press upon and harass the farmers of Winburg and Harrismith.

The president returned with all speed to Bloemfontein, and immediately summoned the volksraad to meet in extraordinary session on the 4th of May. On the 5th the members resolved, in their wish to prevent war, to empower his Excellency to make such modifications in the Warden line as he might consider just and reasonable and calculated to ensure the maintenance of peaceful relations, and that his Excellency's decision should be considered as final.

With these extensive powers Sir Philip Wodehouse consented to define a boundary, but until October he was unable to absent himself from the colony. On the 6th of that month he reached Jammerberg Drift, where Mr. Burnet had arranged that all the parties to the dispute should assemble. The high commissioner was accompanied by Lady Wodehouse, Sir Walter Currie, commandant of the colonial police, Mr. Josias Rivers, aide-de-camp, Mr. J. Burnet, Dr. Watling, and Land-Surveyor Dowling. With the president were Mr. J. J. Venter, late acting-president, Commandants Fick and De Villiers, and Fieldcornet De Wet. Moshesh was accompanied by a host of his sub-chiefs and attendants. Moroko was there also. And beside all these, there were present many individuals, farmers, missionaries, and others, interested in the question or drawn together by curiosity.

On the 7th there was a formal conference, which lasted six hours. Each side laid its case before the high commissioner. The Free State simply asked that the boundary established by the British authorities in 1849 and confirmed by the treaty of 1858 should be maintained. Moshesh's case was that there had once been a time when the land between the Lesuto and the Vaal river was occupied by Bantu tribes.

The remnants of those tribes were now living in the Lesuto. He handed to the high commissioner a list of the names of chiefs and titles of clans who had occupied the country beyond the Warden line in the early years of the century, and he asked that the ground should be restored to the heirs of those who owned it before the wars of Tshaka. The high commissioner stated that he would examine the ground in person, and make known his decision afterwards. But he gave both parties distinctly to understand that whatever his award might be, he had neither the disposition nor the authority to take the slightest step to enforce compliance with it.

On the 8th of October Sir Philip Wodehouse, accompanied by the commissioners of the Free State and of Moshesh, commenced an inspection of the country. As the party proceeded, one Basuto delegate after another returned home, when the district in which he was interested was left behind. But the claims which they made, like those of Moshesh, would in the aggregate have involved the extinction of the Free State. The delegates of the republic confined themselves to pointing out the Warden line and proving that the ground beyond it was unoccupied when the farmers first took possession of it.

The examination occupied rather more than a fortnight, but by the 28th the high commissioner had reached Aliwal North on his return, and on that day delivered his award in writing. It was wholly in favour of the Free State. Both before and after this event Sir Philip Wodehouse showed that he was not entirely untainted by the prejudices against the unlettered and unrefined farmers of the interior of South Africa which most Europeans of culture are prone to feel. At the time of his mediation he believed the Free State to be too weak as a military power to contend successfully with Moshesh, but his sympathies were not attracted to the farmers by their supposed helplessness. He had read letter after letter informing him of the distress, the misery, and the danger of the white inhabitants of Winburg and Harri-

smith, without showing any emotion. At the very time that some of the most urgent of these letters, imploring his mediation, were coming to his hands, he had made a present of a quantity of gunpowder to Moshesh, not sufficient indeed to do much damage in case of war, but ample to show on which side his private inclinations were. He came to this country believing that the conduct of the whites of the Free State towards their black neighbours was oppressive, as is proved by the first letter which he wrote to President Pretorius. That three years after giving this judgment he prevented the destruction of the Basuto power is known to every one.

But in the question of the disputed boundary the high commissioner was obliged to be guided by rules of justice. And in accordance with those rules he decided that the Warden line must remain the boundary, with only one slight change. During the British occupation a small tract of land north of one section of the line had not been divided into farms, as Mr. Biddulph, magistrate of Winburg, proposed to add it to the reserve assigned to Gert Taaibosch's Koranas. These people had long since moved beyond the Vaal, and the high commissioner now gave to Moshesh the ground which Mr. Biddulph intended for them. In the letter to the chief informing him of the award, Sir Philip Wodehouse described the country as he found it in the following terms:—

"I have satisfied myself that the line known as the Warden line was so drawn as to do no more, except in one portion, than preserve the farms for which British certificates have been given; and likewise that up to the time of the signing of the Aliwal treaty the rights of the owners of the farms had not been questioned, nor their possession disturbed. What is the present state of affairs? From one end of the line to the other, and in most cases to a considerable distance within the line, parties of your tribe, without a pretence of right, and without any formal declaration on your part, have squatted on the several farms, have established villages, cultivated large tracts of land, introduced large quantities of cattle, and have by intimidation driven off the lawful owners. Everywhere are to be seen deserted and roofless farm houses, with valuable orchards fast going to destruction."

Immediately after the delivery of the award the president requested Moshesh to cause measures to be taken for the

removal of his people from Free State territory before the end of November. Moshesh replied that he would call a meeting of his sub-chiefs to discuss the matter, and would communicate the result.

A pitso, or national gathering of the Basuto, was thereupon held. At these meetings there is liberty of speech for every one, and on this occasion even the common people uttered their sentiments freely. All were in a state of violent excitement, and all, with two exceptions, clamoured for war rather than relinquishment of the coveted territory. The exceptions were Moshesh and his great son Letsie. The latter had none of the abilities of his father, except sufficient cunning to conceal his designs. He had intelligence enough, however, to know that his brothers were his superiors mentally, and that as the tribe was of recent formation they might easily wrest large sections of it from him on the death of their father. Extension of the Lesuto north of the Warden line meant increase of the power of Molapo and Masupha, which Letsie had no wish to see, and therefore he was probably in earnest when he gave his opinion that the agreement to abide by the high commissioner's decision should be faithfully observed.

Moshesh's reasons were very different. There was nothing further from his mind than submission to the award in good faith, but he was far too prudent to put himself in the wrong with the British government. In that figurative language which he was so fond of using, he told the assembly that they were in this matter governed, but that some other cause for war might arise. His people understood him. It was thereupon resolved, though not expressed in words, that to save appearances the Basuto squatters should be withdrawn from the Free State, and that a cause for war would be found such as would not forfeit the sympathy of the British government.

This is now made so clear by subsequent events, and by the collection and publication of letters written by instruction of the different chiefs and contemporaneous records

from the pens of Colonial and Free State officials, that no one at all acquainted with Basuto ways attempts to dispute it. But so wary was the great chief that Sir Philip Wodehouse was completely deceived. Five months after the award, during all which time the Basuto were devising plan after plan to draw the farmers to attack them, the high commissioner informed the secretary of state for the colonies that his decision had been faithfully accepted by Moshesh, and that all fear of a collision was at an end. And both the high commissioner and the secretary of state complimented the chief upon his loyal and faithful conduct.

What that conduct was in reality must now be shown. The chiefs who attended the pitso had no sooner dispersed than cattle-lifting was resumed on a very extensive scale along the south-western border, from which that quarter had for nearly three years been tolerably free. From the ground north of the Warden line the women, children, and horned cattle were removed, but the men and horses were left behind. A strong patrol of farmers was assembling, to be ready on the 1st of December to expel any intruders who might then remain. While matters were in this condition, on the 22nd of November a letter was handed to the president by some Basuto, who stated that it had been sent by Moshesh. The seal of the great chief was not, however, attached to it. Its purport was that if Sir Philip Wodehouse would not give another line than that of Major Warden, Moshesh would not submit. The object evidently was to provoke an attack before the expiration of the month. The president, however, was too cautious to be thus imposed upon. He sent Commandant Wessels to Moshesh to ascertain if he acknowledged the document, when the great chief declared it to be a forgery.

About the same time some farms near Bethlehem were pillaged by a party of Basuto under Lesawana, or Ramanela as he was afterwards called. This Ramanela was a son of Moshesh's brother Makhabane, and was married to Moshesh's daughter of highest rank, who was a full sister of Letsie.

The attack upon the farms was entirely unprovoked. The homesteads were damaged, the loose property was destroyed, and the cattle were driven off. As this act did not provoke retaliation, Moshesh affected to throw all the blame upon Ramanela, promised to punish him for it, and engaged to compensate the farmers to the extent demanded by Commandant De Villiers, namely to restore their stock which had been driven off and to pay seventy head of good cattle as damages.

When the award was communicated to the president, the high commissioner had counselled moderation in requiring its fulfilment, and had expressed an opinion that it might be found practicable to permit some of the Basuto squatters to remain within the Free State on reasonable conditions. The Free State government was not unwilling to adopt this recommendation, and overtures from Ramanela himself were being favourably entertained at the very time when he plundered the Bethlehem farmers. After this, naturally, the Free State authorities resolved that none could remain.

At the beginning of December the president with a strong patrol inspected the line, and found no Basuto within it, except in one place a few who appeared to be panic-stricken. He then left a guard of two hundred men on the border, and returned to Bloemfontein.

Moshesh's letters at this time, as ever throughout his life, were filled with peaceful expressions. He had ordered his subjects, he said, to withdraw within his boundary, and he believed that they had all done so, except a few of Ramanela's clan who would move without further delay. He informed the president of a rumour which he asserted he had heard, that the Free State, the South African Republic, and Moroko had entered into alliance with a view of attacking him, and innocently asked if there was any truth in it. He stated that his people had abandoned the territory north of the line so hastily that they had been unable to remove the corn which was stored in baskets or

their loose goods and effects, and he requested that they might be permitted to return for such property and also to gather the crops then growing in the gardens which they had made. Moperi and Molapo also wrote, making similar requests.

The president, in reply, gave the chiefs permission to send people for the corn and loose goods at any time before the end of January 1865, provided the people so sent were unarmed, and conducted themselves properly. As for the crops growing in the gardens, he would submit the question of their removal or otherwise to the volksraad.

Some of Ramanela's people still remained in secluded parts of the territory restored to the Free State by the award. On the 27th of December they attacked the border guard as it was patrolling in the Harrismith district, but were driven back with a loss of one man killed and five wounded. The president then called upon Moshesh to remove these subjects of his, and to fulfil the engagements he had made a month before. The great chief repeated his promise, spoke of his love of peace and desire to do what was right, asked that a commission should be sent to confer with him upon the punishment of Ramanela, and when Mr. Job Harvey, landdrost of Smithfield, was sent with this object, would do nothing. While time was thus being spent in fruitless negotiations, Ramanela's people were busy plundering, and in the second week of January 1865 two burghers were severely wounded by them.

On the 6th of February 1865 the volksraad met. On the 7th a resolution was unanimously adopted, thanking the high commissioner in the name of the government and the people for what he had done, and then the question of the Basuto squatters being permitted to gather the corn growing in the gardens they had made came on for discussion. After a debate of two days duration, resolutions were carried that the squatters could not be permitted to gather the maize and millet crops, which would not reach maturity for some time to come, but that under reasonable safeguards

they might remove before the end of February the wheat which was then ripe.

Just before this resolution was passed, Moshesh's son Tsekelo paid an official visit to Bloemfontein. On his return homewards he drove off some horses belonging to farmers, and retired with them to a mountain stronghold between Winburg and Mekuatling, where he took up his residence. When shortly afterwards he was brought to account there by Moperi, his own father-in-law, no fewer than forty horses belonging to Free State burghers were found in his possession.

On the 23rd of February the president wrote to Moshesh, making a formal demand of redress for Ramanela's misdeeds; but Mr. Harvey, who was then endeavouring to obtain a friendly settlement, was instructed not to deliver the document until everything else should fail. It was thus kept back till the time allowed for redress was unreasonably short, on which account the president cancelled it, and renewed the demand on the 28th of March. In this letter Moshesh was called upon to remove Ramanela's people from the Free State, to pay the fine of seventy head of cattle, to make full compensation for the wounding of the two burghers, and to punish the guilty parties, before the 15th of April; to restore the forty-seven horses and thirty-seven cattle stolen in November by Ramanela, and to punish those followers of Ramanela who had attacked the border guard, before the 1st of May; failing which the government of the Free State would act towards Ramanela according to the eleventh article of the treaty of Aliwal North.

The only notice which Moshesh took of these demands was to forward on the 26th of April fifty-eight of the least valuable cattle in his country, nine horses, and £4 in money, which the president immediately sent back to him. And while the cattle were on the return road, Ramanela made a descent upon a farm belonging to a widow named Uys, and drove off thirty-five horses.

A considerable burgher force was therefore called out. A guard was stationed at Koesberg to watch Poshuli, and a commando took the field to punish Ramanela. On the 9th of May the president left Bloemfontein and put himself at the head of the burghers. Ramanela then sent his cattle into Natal for safety, and made a show of resistance. On the 25th of May the commando attacked him, when after a little skirmishing he fled over the boundary with a loss of a few men killed and wounded. This was exactly what was anticipated and provided for by the Basuto chiefs. The same stratagem that had lured the column of Colonel Napier at Berea to destruction had been employed to tempt the Free State forces onward. Thousands of cattle were in sight, apparently unguarded and ready to be made an easy booty. But the president was too cautious to fall into the trap. On the line the commando halted, and Ramanela's fugitive clan was pursued no farther.

While the forces were assembling to conduct this operation, the followers of Moperi were doing what they could to provoke an attack. Some of them took temporary possession of a farm belonging to one Van Rooyen, and made prisoners of the owner and of a man named Pelzer, the latter of whom they assaulted and beat. Another party seized on Free State ground a farmer named Michiel Muller, carried him away to Moperi's village, and detained him there for four days.

On the 2nd of June the president demanded from Moshesh the delivery to the landdrost of Winburg before sunset on the 8th of the individuals who had thus assaulted and imprisoned Free State burghers on their own ground, together with a fine of fifty head of cattle; and announced that if the demand was not complied with he would consider it a declaration of war. To this no reply was made, and so on the 9th of June 1865 the president issued from Leeuwkop a proclamation calling the burghers to arms for the vindication of their rights against the Basuto.

CHAPTER LV.

EVENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC FROM 1858 TO 1864.

EARLY in 1858, when the Basuto chief was endeavouring to draw the Free State into war, the Bamapela, one of the clans that had risen in Zoutpansberg in 1854, took up arms again. There is no direct proof of any kind to connect Moshesh with this revolt. But when a recurring event is always accompanied by the same phenomena, it is not unreasonable to conclude that there is a connection between them, though that connection cannot always be explained or proved. So in the case of these outbreaks. They are always found occurring just when it was to Moshesh's advantage that they should occur, and hence the chief of the mountain has been generally suspected of having instigated them.

The outbreak began in the usual manner, by the murder of a party of Europeans and the seizure of their property. But it was speedily suppressed. Commandant-General Schoeman called out a strong force, upon which the best fighting men among the marauders retired to a fortified hill. The surrounding country was scoured, a great many of the blacks were killed, and a good deal of stock was secured. On the 14th of April 1858 Commandant Paul Kruger's division took the stronghold by storm. The enemy rolled large stones down upon the advancing force and kept up a heavy fire, so that a good many burghers were wounded, though only one—Philip Minnaar by name—was killed. With the capture of this hill the revolt was crushed, and the commando soon afterwards retired. In the campaign the Bamapela lost about eight hundred men.

The laws relating to the treatment of Bantu tribes living within the territory of the South African Republic underwent several changes in 1858. In 1853 the sale of ammunition to these people had been prohibited under penalties ranging from death to confiscation of all property. The punishment for this offence was now changed to a fine of £500, or imprisonment, or confiscation of property, according to the judgment of the courts of justice. Traders and travellers were prohibited from having on their waggons more than forty pounds (18·144 kilogrammes) of gunpowder and double that weight of lead.

Traffic in indentures of coloured children was forbidden under penalty of a fine of £100 to £500.

In 1853 it was enacted that the commandants could allot locations to coloured people, which were to be considered as leases to be held as long as the occupants should conduct themselves properly. The new laws provided that the landdrosts of the different districts should assign locations to the coloured people, which should be clearly defined, and should be regarded as given to them for use during peaceable behaviour, but not as alienable property. In these locations the coloured people were to be under the government of their own chiefs or captains, and were to be protected from molestation by other clans or by white people. They were not to be permitted to form alliances with other tribes, or to possess munitions of war or horses. They were to be under the dominion of the republic, and those capable of performing service were liable to be called upon for aid in war. Trade with them was permitted under a few necessary restrictions.

Contracts with coloured people could only be made with the sanction of a fieldcornet. Those who were not under any recognised captain were obliged to take service with the farmers, but were to be well treated, and no spirituous liquor was to be sold to them without leave of their masters. No missionaries were to be permitted to reside in the locations without first obtaining the consent of the fieldcornet

of the ward, who was required to consult the executive council of the republic before giving it.

Some important alterations were at the same time made in the general laws. It was now provided that persons of any creed could vote at elections, but only members of the Dutch Reformed church were to be eligible to hold public offices. The landdrosts were to be appointed by the executive council, but the inhabitants of the districts to which they were sent could reject them at any time within two months after their arrival. The fieldcornets and assistant fieldcornets were still to be elected by the white inhabitants of the wards. Their term of office was limited to five years.

In February 1858 a coat of arms for the republic was adopted by the volksraad. It displayed a waggon and a golden anchor on a silver shield, with an eagle above, on the right side an armed farmer of the period, and on the left side a lion.

Ecclesiastical disputes were still rife, and towards the close of this year a new controversy arose. The same society in the Netherlands that had sent out the reverend Mr. Van der Hoff — who was before this date the only clergyman north of the Vaal—now sent out another minister, named Van Heiningen, who went to reside at Lydenburg. This clergyman and his consistory were in favour of union with the synod of the Dutch Reformed church in the Cape Colony, while Mr. Van der Hoff and his consistory were desirous of separation of church as well as state.

With the reverend Mr. Van Heiningen there came also from the Netherlands a clergyman named Postma, who had previously been minister of a congregation of the Separatist Reformed church at Zwolle, and who was sent out by the synod of that body. In November 1858 he became clergyman of Rustenburg. Mr. Postma held, with the Separatist church of the Netherlands, that the use in public worship of hymns which were not paraphrases of scripture was improper. In the method of conducting services he differed

in a few small matters from his fellow clergymen, but the question of the use of hymns was the one upon which the controversy arose.

With a view of trying to restore concord, the government convened a general church assembly, which met at Potchefstroom on the 26th of April 1859, and continued in session for five days. The three clergymen of the country north of the Vaal—the reverend Mr. Van der Hoff, of Potchefstroom, the reverend Mr. Van Heiningen, of Lydenburg, and the reverend Mr. Postma, of Rustenburg — with the elders of their churches were present. In addition, the reverend Mr. Louw, of Fauresmith in the Free State, and the reverend Mr. Hofmeyr, of Colesberg in the Cape Colony, had been invited to assist, and took part in the proceedings.

The first question to be decided was whether the congregation represented by Mr. Postma and its elders was part of the Dutch Reformed church, or not. According to the twentieth article of the constitution that was the state church, and if Mr. Postma did not belong to it he could not be admitted as a clergyman. The assembly decided that its profession of faith agreed with that of the Dutch Reformed church, and it therefore fulfilled the conditions of the twentieth article of the constitution.

As a basis of concord, it was next resolved that each clergyman should be at liberty to use the hymns generally received, or not, according to the views of his congregation.

To prevent further strife by keeping out of the country persons with a tendency to innovations, a complete revolution was effected. A majority resolved that no clergyman should be eligible to accept the call of a congregation in the South African Republic unless his credentials were confirmed by the Cape synod and he was approved of by the general church assembly.

Lastly, the reverend Mr. Postma was recognised as clergyman of Rustenburg, under condition that the ministers of Potchefstroom and Lydenburg should from time to time visit that congregation.

On the 1st of August 1859 Mr. Postma's consistory notified that it rejected the resolutions adopted at Potchefstroom in April. It declared its determination to use in public worship only the psalms and paraphrases of scripture which were put in rhyme in the Netherlands in 1773. It asserted its conviction that the confirmation of credentials of clergymen by the Cape synod was unnecessary, unsafe, even dangerous to an independent state. And it rejected entirely the interference of the clergymen of Potchefstroom and Lydenburg. It expressed a wish for union, but proposed no concessions.

From that date the Separatist Reformed church has existed as an independent body in the South African Republic. A little later the second congregation of this communion was formed at Vlakfontein in the Orange Free State. In February 1861 the church place there took the name of Reddersburg, and in November of that year the reverend Mr. Beyer arrived from Holland and became the first resident minister. Next a congregation was established at Burghersdorp in the Cape Colony, where a theological seminary has since been founded. In various places elsewhere congregations have in later years been formed, and the Separatist church is now a large and influential body in many parts of South Africa. It is thoroughly orthodox in its creed, and very closely resembles the church of the Scotch covenanters of bygone days. By those in South Africa not of its communion it is commonly called the Dopper church.

On the 13th of September 1859 the general assembly of the state church came together at Pretoria, and unanimously resolved to unite with the Cape synod. Since 1862, however, owing to a decision of the supreme court of the Cape Colony, no clergymen or elders from territories beyond the colonial boundary can have seats in the colonial synod.

In 1859 Commandant Jan Kock, whose name was famous in the early days of the Sovereignty but who had since been almost forgotten, came into notice again. On the 8th

of July of that year he issued from Potchefstroom a proclamation in the name and by authority of Commandant-General Stephanus Schoeman, in which he announced to the inhabitants of that part of the Free State which lies between the Vet and Vaal rivers that the territory occupied by them once belonged to Hendrik Potgieter, that Schoeman was Potgieter's successor, and that they could at any time claim protection from Schoeman. The proclamation was a revival of the old Winburg claim to be united with Potgieter's party north of the Vaal, and an invitation to the burghers of the territory between the Vet and the Vaal to rebel against the Free State government.

On the 13th of July Mr. H. Jeppe, acting state attorney of the South African Republic, issued a protest against Kock's proclamation as calculated to disturb the peace. Kock thereupon, on the 28th, published in the *State Gazette* a protest against Mr. Jeppe's protest. President Pretorius was at the time absent on a visit to Zululand, and Mr. H. S. Lombard was acting in his stead. He caused the whole issue of the *State Gazette* to be suppressed, and on the 2nd of August published a proclamation that the government would strictly adhere to articles 4 and 27 of the constitution and prosecute all who should disregard them. The last of these had recently been modified, by giving power to the volksraad that had formerly been reserved to the people in primary assembly. As they stood then in the constitution, these articles were:—

4. The people desire no extension of territory, and will allow of none except upon just principles when the interests of the republic make such extension advisable.

27. No treaty or alliance with foreign powers or people may be proposed, received, or concluded, except after the volksraad has been called together by the president and the members of the executive council for the purpose of making known its views thereupon, and the proposal shall be approved of and confirmed or shall be rejected according to the decision of the members of the volksraad.

This event is hardly worthy of notice, except as an indication of the spirit of discord that existed in the republic. Kock had numerous partisans, though they did not choose

to rally round him on this occasion, and so his object was not attained. He was brought to trial and fined £37 10s. for the attempt to disturb the peace of the country.

On the 11th of September 1857 the volksraad of the South African Republic decided to send an invitation to Lydenburg to come to a reconciliation in ecclesiastical and political matters. The invitation was forwarded by President Pretorius, but it did not meet with immediate response. Early in 1859, however, the Lydenburg people considered the matter favourably, and the members of the executive councils of the two republics had a meeting and arranged a basis of union. President Pretorius then convened the volksraad, which met at Potchefstroom in special session on the 2nd of May 1859. Fourteen members were present. A report of the proceedings, including the basis of agreement, was laid before them. They expressed gratification at the prospect of union, but instead of confirming the provisional agreement, instructed the executive to publish it in the *Gazette* in order that the opinion of the public at large might be expressed. They directed the president to bring the matter up again at the next ordinary session, and they then returned to their homes.

Though the union was not legally completed, all public acts were henceforth based on the assumption that what remained to be done was only formal. Shortly after the close of the session President Pretorius visited Zululand and had a friendly interview with the chief Panda. At Utrecht he established provisionally a court of landdrost and heemraden, and also at a place which thereafter took the name of Marthinus-Wessel-Stroom, the district of which it was the seat of magistracy being termed Wakkerstroom. In September 1859 the volksraad approved of these acts.

The territory comprised in the district of Wakkerstroom was south of the Vaal, and in name once formed part of the Orange River Sovereignty, though no actual jurisdiction was exercised over it. In June 1854 a commission was sent from the Free State to confer on several matters with the

volksraad then in session at Rustenburg. The volksraad claimed, as the southern boundary of the territory to which the convention of 1852 applied, the Klip river from its source to its junction with the Vaal, and thence the last-named stream, the Klip river being the one running through Zeekoevlei. The Free State made no objection to this at the time, nor did it protest against the formation of the district of Wakkerstroom by the volksraad of the South African Republic in 1859.

On the 25th of April 1860 Mr. J. H. Grobbelaar, then acting president of the South African Republic, issued a proclamation defining the Klip river as a boundary, and a commission which was sent from Bloemfontein to confer with him and the executive council made no opposition, but even proposed that the boundary question should be brought before the volksraads of both countries with a view of Klip river being approved of. On the 14th of February 1862, however, the volksraad of the Orange Free State declared that the upper Vaal river was the boundary, and appointed a commission to erect a beacon at the source of the stream. At the same time a guarantee was given that the rights of individuals in the district of Wakkerstroom would not be disturbed. Negotiations between the two republics and resolutions adopted by the volksraads on various occasions failed to effect an amicable settlement of the dispute, but the district remained in fact a portion of the northern state.

There was a party, principally residents in the district of Potchefstroom, opposed to the union of Lydenburg with the South African Republic. They used no other arguments, however, than those which originated in the old quarrel between the adherents of Andries Pretorius and Hendrik Potgieter, and they were a decided minority.

On the 3rd of April 1860 representatives of the two republics met at Pretoria. There were present fifteen members of the volksraad of the districts Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Pretoria, and Zoutpansberg, forming the South African

Republic, and twelve members of the volksraad of the districts Lydenburg and Utrecht, forming the Republic of Lydenburg. On the following day the articles of union were ratified.

The constitution, flag, and coat of arms of the South African Republic were adopted by the united state. The districts forming the Republic of Lydenburg retained a council to make purely local laws, but such laws were to be submitted for the approval of the executive council and the volksraad. They were to be entitled to choose two members of the executive council, and to be represented in the volksraad by nine members. Their church was not to be forced into uniformity with the others. They were to retain their own commandant-general for a time.

Pretoria was chosen as the seat of government, and the heads of departments were to be stationed there within two months.

One of the articles of agreement rescinded the sentence of banishment passed by the landdrost of Potchefstroom against Mr. J. A. Smellekamp in June 1854, and required the fine of £37 10s., imposed by the volksraad in June of that year, to be repaid to him.

In October 1859 the volksraad resolved to found a village on the watershed between Klipspruit and the highest eastern branch of the Olifants river. The resolution was carried into effect shortly afterwards. The village was called Nazareth until 1874, when the name was changed to Middelburg, by which it has since been known.

On the 2nd of February 1860 President Pretorius obtained from the volksraad of the South African Republic six months leave of absence. He had been elected president of the Orange Free State, and his partisans hoped that within the six months a plan of union would be devised. But after his departure from Potchefstroom, and particularly after the union with Lydenburg, the opinions of many people north of the Vaal underwent a change. The old enmity of the Lydenburg faction had a great deal to do with it. They

were jealous of the younger Pretorius, as they had been of his father, and they felt little inclination to aid in augmenting his dignity. They began to argue that union would confer much greater advantages on the Free State than on them. Shutting their eyes to the masses of barbarians on their northern and eastern borders, they spoke of Moshesh as if he was the only chief whose power was to be feared, and as if the object of the unionist party in the Free State was the purely selfish one of getting assistance to deal with him.

Hostility to Mr. Pretorius was clearly exhibited by the volksraad immediately after the union with Lydenburg. A resolution was carried that he must perform no duties north of the Vaal during the six months, in other words that he must not interfere in any way with matters there, and that on the expiration of his leave he must give an account of his proceedings. Mr. Schubart, the state secretary, was dismissed for having accompanied him to Bloemfontein, and Mr. J. H. Struben was appointed to that office.

The leave would expire on the 2nd of August. On the 28th of July the volksraad of the Free State resolved to send a commission to Pretoria to ask for an extension of the term, as the services of Mr. Pretorius could not then be dispensed with. They desired more time to devise a plan of union. They gave the president three months leave from the Free State, and on the same day he left for Potchefstroom.

On the 10th of September the volksraad of the South African Republic met at Pretoria. Mr. Cornelis Potgieter, landdrost of Lydenburg, was its leading spirit. The Free State commission was present, but met with a cooler reception than had been anticipated. Mr. Pretorius appeared, in conformity with the resolution passed in April, and offered to make a statement. It was provided in the constitution that the president during his tenure of office should follow no other occupation. The volksraad took advantage of this, decided that it was illegal for any one to be president of the South African Republic and of the Orange Free State at the

same time, and called upon Mr. Pretorius to resign one office or the other. There was a warm controversy, at the close of which Mr. Pretorius resigned the office of president of the South African Republic. Mr. J. H. Grobbelaar, who had been acting president since the 2nd of February, was requested by the volksraad to continue in office.

The partisans of Mr. Pretorius hereupon resolved to resist. A mass meeting was held at Potchefstroom on the 8th and 9th of October. Mr. Pretorius was there, and with him was his former adversary Stephanus Schoeman, who now professed to be one of his staunchest adherents. The meeting resolved almost unanimously:

(*a*) That the volksraad no longer enjoyed its confidence, and must be held as having ceased to exist.

(*b*) That Mr. Pretorius should remain president of the South African Republic, and have a year's leave of absence in order to bring about union with the Free State.

(*c*) That Mr. Stephanus Schoeman should act as president during the absence of Mr. Pretorius, and Mr. Grobbelaar be dismissed.

(*d*) That Mr. Struben should be dismissed as state secretary, and Mr. Schubart be restored to that office.

(*e*) That before the return of Mr. Pretorius to resume his duties a new volksraad should be elected.

A committee of five—Messrs. D. Steyn, Preller, Lombard, Spruyt, and Bodenstein—was appointed to see these resolutions carried out. The electors were appealed to, but the voting was so arranged that only a thousand burghers recorded their opinions. Of these, more than seven hundred approved of the resolutions of the Potchefstroom meeting. Thereupon Mr. Schoeman assumed duty as acting president, Mr. Willem Janse van Rensburg became acting commandant-general, and Mr. Philip Coetzer, of Lydenburg, a member of the executive council.

On the 14th of January 1861 the volksraad that had been dissolved by the revolution met at Pretoria on the summons of Acting President Schoeman. He held his office by the

same authority that had dismissed this body, yet so inconsistent and fickle was he that he now acknowledged its legal existence. The council of war of the republic met at Pretoria at the same time, and the committee appointed by the Potchefstroom meeting was there also. Antagonism to the volksraad was so strongly expressed by most of those who were thus drawn together that the majority of the members resigned after a session of a couple of hours.

If the acting president had been a man of sound judgment he would after this at least have let matters rest. Instead of doing so, with his countenance the volksraad came together again under protection of an armed force, and ordered legal proceedings to be instituted against the Potchefstroom committee. On the 13th of February the members of the committee were brought to trial for sedition. The court consisted of two landdrosts, one of whom was Cornelis Potgieter, of Lydenburg, their bitterest political opponent. The accused were found guilty by a jury, when Messrs. Steyn, Preller, Lombard, and Spruyt were sentenced to pay each a fine of £100, and Bodenstein to pay a fine of £15.

This proceeding caused great commotion throughout the republic. A court of twelve members was elected by the people to settle matters, but beyond making some changes in the executive council it did nothing. Then Acting President Schoeman, to support his authority, assembled an armed force, which he placed under the orders of Mr. J. C. Steyn. Upon this, Commandant Paul Kruger, of Rustenburg, called out the burghers of his district, and marched to Pretoria with a determination to drive out Schoeman and establish a better government.

In order to prevent civil war, a number of influential men living in and near Pretoria interposed. At their recommendation, three men were elected from each of the commandos to form a court to decide what should be done, and Mr. M. W. Pretorius was requested to act as its chairman. This court resolved that a new volksraad should be elected, to whose decisions all must bow; that the existing govern-

ment should retain office until the meeting of the new volksraad; that prosecutions for political offences should cease; and that the armed burghers should immediately return to their homes.

These resolutions were acted upon. The commandants disbanded their forces, and at the close of the year 1861 all was again quiet.

The volksraad, elected according to this arrangement, met at Pretoria on the 2nd of April 1862, and continued in session until the 26th of the same month. It decided to dismiss Mr. Schoeman, the members of the executive council, and the heads of departments. It appointed Willem C. Janse van Rensburg acting president until an election could take place, the ballot papers of which were to be sent in before the 13th of October, when it would hold another session. Further it appointed provisionally J. H. Visagie state secretary, J. H. Valckenaar state attorney, M. J. Viljoen, D. Erasmus, and W. Coetzer members of the executive council, and Theunis Snyman commandant-general.

Acting President Schoeman refused to submit to this decision, and a strong party supported him. At Potchefstroom the landdrost, Jan Steyn, declared for him; and when Van Rensburg visited that village, he and the officers whom he tried to appoint were driven away.

For several months there were two acting presidents and two rival governments in the South African Republic. At length Commandant Paul Kruger resolved to put an end to this anarchy. The volksraad had appointed Theunis Snyman, of Pretoria, commandant-general; but this officer volunteered to serve under Kruger. So also did Joseph van Dyk, commandant-general of Lydenburg.

Having driven Schoeman and his adherents from Pretoria, on the 7th of October Commandant Kruger, with a force of between eight hundred and a thousand men, and three pieces of artillery, invested Potchefstroom. Schoeman held the village with between three and four hundred men and one cannon. Fire was opened from Kruger's battery, but as the

object was only to frighten Schoeman into submission, the guns were so directed that during two days of what the villagers were pleased to call "the bombardment," the only damage done was to the gables of a few houses.

On the 9th Schoeman, who was not wanting in courage, made a sudden sortie, in hope of capturing Kruger's artillery. Instead of this, however, he was driven back with the loss of his own cannon and with one man killed and himself and seven others wounded. Kruger's loss was two men wounded. This event disheartened Schoeman's partisans, and that night he and his principal adherents fled into the Free State. President Pretorius, who on the 30th of September had obtained two months leave from the volksraad of the Free State purposely to visit the northern republic and endeavour to restore order, had arrived at Potchefstroom the day after the investment commenced. Not being able to obtain a suspension of hostilities, he accompanied the fugitives over the Vaal.

On the 10th of October Commandant Kruger took possession of Potchefstroom. The council of war issued a proclamation banishing Stephanus Schoeman and the landdrost Steyn from the South African Republic; and Schoeman's principal adherents were fined, Jan Kock among others being sentenced to confiscation of all his property. Kruger then with his whole force marched to Klip River, where it was reported that Schoeman was collecting his adherents again. He left Potchefstroom unprotected. Upon this, Schoeman fairly doubled upon his opponent, for he returned to Potchefstroom and took possession of the village. Some eight hundred men rallied round him there. Kruger hastened back, and the two commandos were ready to fall upon each other when President Pretorius interposed.

Kruger having consented to a discussion of matters, a tent was pitched midway between the two camps, and on the 24th and 25th of November the negotiations were held. Schoeman entrusted his case to President Pretorius and Commandant D. C. Uys, Commandant Paul Kruger and Mr.

S. T. Prinsloo appeared on the other side. They agreed that all sentences of banishment, confiscation, and fines should be suspended, that an election of a president and of a commandant-general should take place as soon as order was restored, that in the meantime the administration appointed by the volksraad should remain in office, and that all criminal charges connected with the disturbances should be submitted to a court created for the purpose, over which Mr. Walter Harding, chief justice of Natal, or, failing his consent, Advocate H. A. L. Hamelberg, of Bloemfontein, was to be requested to preside. The burghers then dispersed.

On the 12th of January 1863 the special court should have opened its session at Pretoria. Instead of that, however, Schoeman with an armed force entrenched himself in the village, and declared that he would not submit to its decisions, as its members were his opponents. Kruger then with a few burghers of his own district marched to protect the court. He formed a camp at a little distance from Pretoria, and called upon the burghers everywhere throughout the republic to join him and establish order. His appeal was responded to, and from all sides men gathered to his standard. Taking only two unarmed burghers with him, he entered Pretoria and announced that he did not wish to shed a drop of blood, but that he was determined to compel all persons to submit to the law. At this, Schoeman's adherents began to waver, and they offered no resistance when Kruger placed a strong guard over the public offices.

On the 19th of January, during a heavy thunderstorm, Schoeman and his principal adherents fled from Pretoria, taking two cannon with them; and as soon as possible they crossed into the Free State. When James II of England fled from his capital, he took the great seal with him, in the silly hope of thereby embarrassing his successor. When Schoeman fled from Pretoria, he carried off the state flag in like manner.

On the 20th of January the special court commenced its session. Both Mr. Harding and Mr. Hamelberg had declined to preside over it, so that it consisted merely of three landdrosts. Each case was decided by a jury of twelve. S. Schoeman, C. F. Preller, and J. C. Steyn, who had all fled from the country, were found guilty of rebellion, were banished, and were sentenced to confiscation of their property. Schoeman's son was banished. Several others had light sentences passed upon them, but a door of reconciliation was left open for all except the leading offenders.

The election for a president and a commandant-general took place shortly after the session of the special court was over. For a president only seven hundred and fourteen votes in all were given. Of these, three hundred and seventy were for W. C. Janse van Rensburg, two hundred and forty-seven for M. W. Pretorius, and ninety-seven were scattered among several others. For a commandant-general only four hundred and eighty-six votes were recorded. Of these, three hundred and eight were for S. J. Paul Kruger, one hundred and thirty-five for Joseph van Dyk, and forty-three were scattered.

On the 20th of May 1863 the volksraad met at Pretoria. Mr. Van Rensburg, in announcing the result of the elections, stated that as so few votes had been given, the decision of the people had clearly not been ascertained. He therefore desired that a fresh election should take place. The volksraad coincided with this view, and passed a resolution that another election should be held, the voting papers to be sent by the landdrosts to the executive council on or before the 1st of October. Mr. Van Rensburg's administration was directed to continue in office until the 12th of October, when the volksraad would meet again.

Petitions were read from the Schoemans, father and son, praying that the sentences passed upon them by the special court might be mitigated. On the intercession of Mr. M. W. Pretorius, it was resolved that they could return to the South African Republic; but the father was declared incap-

able of holding any office and was required to pay a fine of £500, and the son, who was restored to full burgher rights, was to pay £250.

At the appointed time the volksraad met again, when it was announced that in the districts of Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg, Rustenburg, Pretoria, Utrecht, and Middelburg, one thousand one hundred and six votes had been given for Mr. Van Rensburg and one thousand and sixty-five for Mr. Pretorius. In Wakkerstroom the proceedings at the election had been very irregular, and many of the ballot papers from that district were thrown out. Mr. Paul Kruger had been elected commandant-general by a clear majority.

On the 24th of October Mr. Van Rensburg took the oath of office as president, but his opponents professed to believe that the ballot papers had been tampered with, and declined to recognise his government.

Commandant Jan Viljoen, of the Marikwa, raised the standard of revolt on this occasion. On the 10th of December 1863 he entered Potchefstroom at the head of an armed force, dismissed the officials, and replaced them with others of his own selection. His force termed itself the Volksleger, the Army of the People. Commandant-General Kruger called out one hundred and fifty men to suppress the rebellion, not knowing that Viljoen's force was as strong as it was afterwards found to be. With this little commando, called the Staatsleger, or Army of the State, he proceeded to Potchefstroom, and encamped outside the village. Then for the first time he became aware of the numbers against him. There were three hundred men in Potchefstroom, and Viljoen with a still stronger force appeared in the rear and cut off his retreat.

Kruger then sent to Viljoen to propose that they two, with two others selected from each side, should go through the republic, call a meeting at each centre of population, and hold another election for a president, binding themselves to abide by the issue. This proposal was rejected. A patrol

from the state army was surrounded and obliged to surrender, when Kruger, seeing the hopelessness of his position, retired across the Vaal, taking with him only an officer named Carel Eloff. Some of his men managed to disperse in different directions, but most of them were obliged to surrender.

The elder Schoeman now arrived at Potchefstroom in expectation of being called to the head of the volksleger, but was disappointed. His wife was with him, and she handed over the state flag, which had been in her keeping since her husband's flight from Pretoria.

On the 23rd of December the volksleger left Potchefstroom and marched towards Pretoria. Before its arrival at this place, the officials fled to Rustenburg, so others were installed by Commandant Viljoen. From Pretoria the volksleger marched towards Rustenburg, but learning on the way that Commandant-General Kruger had returned and was collecting his forces there, Viljoen formed a strong camp where the road crosses the Limpopo river.

From eight to nine hundred men rallied round Kruger, and with them he went to meet Viljoen. Having formed a camp about three miles from that of the volksleger, he advanced with a mere patrol and drew out his opponent. Then retreating to a place where he had posted a strong force, he turned upon his pursuers. A battle followed, 5th of January 1864, in which the volksleger was beaten and compelled to retire to the camp on the Limpopo, but was not reduced either to submit or to disperse. On Kruger's side two men were killed and six or eight were wounded, on Viljoen's side five were killed and about thirty were wounded.

On the following day Mr. M. W. Pretorius arrived from the Free State and offered himself as a mediator. Though he expressed great regret at the course Commandant Viljoen had adopted, the men who composed the volksleger were those who had always been his political supporters and who were then more than ever determined that he should be

their president. By them he was warmly received. Commandant General Kruger agreed to discuss matters once more, and on the 8th of January the representatives of the two armies met to consult upon terms of reconciliation.

The conference lasted six days. On the part of the volksleger the delegates were Messrs. M. W. Pretorius, T. F. J. Steyn, and J. J. Fourie; on the part of the staatsleger they were Messrs. S. J. P. Kruger, S. J. Grobbelaar, and S. T. Prinsloo. They agreed that a new election for a president should be held, for which purpose a commission from each party should proceed to the several districts, call the burghers together, and cause the ballot papers to be signed in their presence; that the existing administration should remain in office until the new president was sworn in; and that to decide all vexed questions a special court should be created, to consist of President Brand of the Free State, Chief Justice Harding of Natal, and Advocate Hamelberg of Bloemfontein.

These terms were submitted to the two commandos on the 15th of January, and were approved of. The burghers were then disbanded, and shortly afterwards Messrs. Kruger and Fourie proceeded to Bloemfontein to request President Brand and Advocate Hamelberg to take seats in the special court. The volksraad of the Free State was in session, and, upon being applied to, made no objection to their acting as desired, provided they did so in an unofficial capacity. None of the gentlemen named, however, would undertake the duty, as the authority upon which they would act was irregular, and there could be no guarantee that their decisions would be carried out.

There were two thousand six hundred and thirty-seven votes recorded at the presidential election. Of these, one thousand five hundred and nineteen were for Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, and one thousand one hundred and eighteen for Willem C. Janse van Rensburg. On the 10th of May 1864 the volksraad met, and Mr. Pretorius took the oaths of office. With this ceremony the civil strife which

had so long agitated the republic ceased. When a little later it was decided that all sentences of banishment, confiscation of property, and fines, which had been passed for political offences should be annulled, and that whatever had been seized should be restored to its original owners, there was a general feeling of satisfaction. With Mr. Pretorius as president and Mr. Kruger as commandant-general working together, the government was sufficiently strong to prevent open rebellion by any disaffected burghers.

The civil strife was over, but the injury it had caused could not easily be repaired. The treasury was empty, salaries were in arrear, taxes of all kinds were outstanding and practically irrecoverable. But this was the smallest item in the account. The republic had lost the confidence of the outside world, no one any longer believed in its stability. The Orange Free State, once so desirous for union, now preferred to stand alone even in the dark shadow of the Basuto power. The most that its citizens spoke of was an offensive and defensive alliance between the two republics, but when that was submitted to their vote in 1861 they took very little interest in it. In their eyes, north of the Vaal order seemed to have perished.

CHAPTER LVI.

EVENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC DURING 1864 AND 1865.

THE discord among the Europeans had been turned to advantage by the coloured people. Several of the tribes on the border and in the mountainous districts of the north had become practically independent. During these years no authority of any kind had been exercised over them, even the labour tax—the only burden to which they had ever been subject, except the trifling tribute demanded of the chiefs as an acknowledgment of their vassalage,—not having been enforced. They had been left to do as they liked, and they could not now be disturbed without a certainty of resistance.

An illicit traffic in guns and ammunition had been carried on to a very large extent by unscrupulous traders who entered the part of the country occupied by the Bangwaketse, Bakwena, and Bamangwato tribes by the road nearest the Kalahari, where they were almost unobserved. They usually combined hunting with trading, and the life they led had strong attractions for young men of adventurous disposition. The guns which they introduced were mostly muskets of the cheapest variety, but sometimes they parted with good rifles, and the Betshuana and Bavenda, particularly men who accompanied the hunters, soon became expert in their use.

A law had been passed by the volksraad in 1858, restricting elephant hunting to the season from 15th of June to 15th of October in every year, and prohibiting the employment of Bantu as hunters unless accompanied by

Europeans. The number of blacks was restricted to two for each white man, and they were required to be contracted for the purpose before a landdrost, who was to keep a register of all such engagements. But this law was inoperative from the first, because there were no police to enforce it, and the rough, Dutch-speaking borderers ignored it as completely as did the English hunters. They employed large bands of blacks to hunt for them, whom they trained to become good marksmen. The possession of firearms always has the effect of making a Bantu community intractable, whether they can do more damage with them than with their ancient weapons or not, and now the farmers found the tribes within their borders inclined to throw off all restraints. The guns used by the Europeans in the republic were still large, clumsy muzzle loaders, which needed to be placed on a rest to secure good aim, so that in the matter of weapons the old superiority of the white man had disappeared.

The terms of peace concluded with the Batlapin chief Mahura on the 18th of August 1858 had never been completed. The amount of damages and costs which he had undertaken to pay was not stated in the agreement, but on the 6th of the following October the president had written to him demanding eight thousand head of good cattle, three hundred horses, and five hundred guns to meet this debt. The demand must be regarded as unreasonably large, and there can be no doubt that if an attempt had been made to enforce it at the time, Mahura would have abandoned Taung and retired to some place where he would be less exposed to attack. The condition of the country had enabled him to ignore it, so he had never paid a single hoof, and when a letter of demand was addressed to him eleven days after the return to office of Mr. Pretorius, he referred the government of the republic to his agent, Mr. David Arnot. This was equivalent to ignoring his liability and declaring that he had no intention of doing anything in the matter.

Two clans in the district of Lydenburg had taken up arms, and for many months the white residents there had been living in lagers. One of these clans, a remnant of a coast tribe under a chief named Maboko, or Mapok as termed by the Europeans, had been notorious for cattle-lifting ever since 1853. The other termed itself the Baghopa, and was under a chief named Malewu. In October 1863 Mapok attacked the principal lager, but was driven back with heavy loss. A patrol of sixty men under Fieldcornet Daniel Erasmus fell in with a large party of the enemy on a plain, and killed one hundred and thirty, at a cost of two farmers wounded; but with these exceptions the advantages were all on the side of the blacks. They had possession of the whole of the outlying farms, and had destroyed all the houses and orchards. In December 1863 a force was sent from Pretoria against them, but was recalled before it could do anything, owing to the revolt of Commandant Viljoen.

Within a month of the return to office of President Pretorius, a large commando was on its way to Lydenburg to deal with Mapok and Malewu. But it had no occasion to fight. Those chiefs had other enemies in the Swazis, one of the bravest and most powerful of the coast tribes. In June 1864 a Swazi army fell upon Mapok and routed him. It next attacked Malewu and nearly annihilated his clan, leaving in one place alone the corpses of eight hundred and fifty-four men and two thousand eight hundred and forty women and children. The Swazis then withdrew to their own side of the boundary, and left to Commandant-General Joseph van Dyk only the task of collecting the remnants of the hostile clans and assigning them locations to live in.

The transactions of the republic with the Zulu tribe at this time were not considered of much importance, though fourteen years later they gave rise to a very serious controversy. To understand them, it is necessary to take

up the thread of Zulu history from the establishment of the colony of Natal.

The government of Panda, though cruel if judged by a European standard, was mild when compared with that of either Dingan or Tshaka. White traders were encouraged to settle among the people, and missionaries were permitted to pursue their labours. Two mission societies previously unrepresented in South Africa—the Hanoverian and the Norwegian—sent their agents into Zululand. The military system established by Tshaka was greatly relaxed, though the organisation of the army was still maintained. It was not possible to carry on war as formerly; for on the south was Natal, under the English government, on the west was the South African Republic, and north of the Pongolo river was the Swazi tribe, in alliance with white men whom Panda feared to offend. In January 1847 the Zulus attacked the Swazis, when Commandant-General Hendrik Potgieter, though not assisting either, used his influence in the interests of peace. In 1855 the Swazis ceded a tract of land to the district of Lydenburg, purposely to place Europeans between the Zulus and themselves.

The part of the South African Republic that bordered on Zululand was the district of Utrecht. This district, though it had been cleared of inhabitants by Tshaka, had never afterwards been occupied by Zulu armies except when on the march, nor had any kraals been built in it, but as it was below the Drakensberg it was at one time as much Zulu territory as the adjoining county in Natal. It was part of the country which Commandant-General Andries Pretorius proclaimed a dependency of the republic of Natal on the 14th of February 1840. It was included in Zululand by the agreement made between Commissioner Cloete and Panda on the 5th of October 1843.

In 1847 a number of farmers residing in Natal sent a deputation, of which Cornelis van Rooyen was chairman, to Panda, and obtained his consent to their occupying any portion of the land under the Drakensberg that was not used

by his people. In 1848 a considerable number of Europeans moved into it, as has been related in another chapter. On the 8th of September 1854 a deed of cession to the farmers was signed by Panda, who accepted as an acknowledgment of the favour a present of a hundred head of cattle. Immediately afterwards the republic of Utrecht was established. Its subsequent incorporation with the republic of Lydenburg, and finally with the South African Republic, has already been related.

In the deed of cession the boundaries of the district were laid down, but not very clearly, as the document was the production of men with no great amount of education in letters. In point of fact, the boundary thereafter recognised by both parties for several years was the Blood river from its junction with the Buffalo upwards to where the old hunting path—a well-known beaten road—crosses it, and thence the hunting path to the Pongola river.

In June 1860 Mr. J. H. Grobbelaar, acting president of the South African Republic, appointed a commission to arrange with the Zulus for the erection of beacons along the boundary and to acknowledge Ketshwayo as heir to the chieftainship. The commission was also to endeavour to obtain a cession of land around St. Lucia Bay and of a roadway to that port. This object is not mentioned in the official correspondence, nor in the documents concerning the investigation into boundary disputes in 1878; but it was well known at the time, and was commented upon by the newspapers. A seaport had always been ardently desired by the people of the republic, and as they still claimed a vague kind of control over Panda, it was deemed possible to obtain a cession of the shore of St. Lucia Bay from him, if the matter could be quietly discussed. The commission consisted of Nicolaas Smuts, landdrost of Utrecht, Andries Spies, Cornelis van Rooyen, Pieter Lavras Uys, and W. H. Uys. It took no immediate action in the matters here named, but it continued for some time to be the recognised authority on the border for dealing with the Zulus.

In February 1861 Umtonga, a son of Panda, fled from Zululand and sought protection from the landdrost of Utrecht, as Ketshwayo had just put two members of the ruling family to death, and he feared for his life. He had with him another son of Panda and two indunas.

A few weeks later Ketshwayo sent a message to Landdrost Smuts, thanking him for "detaining the fugitives," and offering to make the people of Utrecht a present of a tract of land if they needed it. The object of the chief was apparent. He wished to prevent Umtonga being used against him in the same way that his father Panda had been used against Dingan. The people of Utrecht had more land already than ten times their number could profitably occupy, but like other men everywhere they were very willing to extend their border.

Upon receipt of Ketshwayo's message, the commission called a public meeting, which was held at a place named Waaihoek. The meeting resolved to send Cornelis van Rooyen to learn what the chief wanted and what he proposed to give.

Thereupon Van Rooyen proceeded to the kraal Ondini, where he met Ketshwayo, who offered to cede a strip of land along the border of Utrecht as far as a certain line which was named, if the fugitives and their cattle were given up. Van Rooyen was inclined to regard the proposal favourably, provided the lives of the fugitives were spared. Ketshwayo promised that no harm should happen to them. It was then arranged that Van Rooyen should return and report to the Utrecht people, and that Ketshwayo should await a reply at the kraal of the captain Sirayo, where he had assembled a large force.

Upon the delivery of Van Rooyen's report, the border commission went to Sirayo's kraal, and, on the 28th of March 1861, in the name of the South African Republic formally acknowledged Ketshwayo as heir to the Zulu chieftainship, and treated with him as the actual ruler of Zululand. They agreed to surrender Umtonga and the other

fugitives, upon Ketshwayo's promising himself and sending two men of note to Utrecht to promise publicly that their lives would be spared, and Ketshwayo agreed in consideration thereof to cede the land he had named.

Ketshwayo sent Gebula, who had for twenty years been the recognised official Zulu messenger, and the captain Sirayo, to make the formal promise required by the border commission. On the first of April a meeting of the people of Utrecht took place at Waaihoek, at which the Zulu messengers were present. Ketshwayo with a strong army was not far off, and it was generally believed that he would invade the district if his brothers were not placed under his surveillance. On the other hand, the safety of the refugees was promised, and a valuable strip of territory was offered, if they were surrendered. It did not take long to decide which course should be followed. Umtonga and his retinue were sent to Ketshwayo, and to the honour of the Zulu chief be it said, he strictly kept his word and did no harm to any of them, though a careful watch was maintained over their movements. A deputation from the Utrecht meeting visited him, and on the 3rd of April he attached his mark to a formal deed of cession of the land agreed upon. Three of his brothers — Uhamu, Siwedu, and Siteku — also attached their marks to the document.

While these events were taking place, the people of Natal were in a state of excitement, as they did not know for what purpose the large army under Ketshwayo was massed so near their border. A military force was got in readiness to repel an invasion, when the Zulu chief sent a peaceful message to the effect that it was only a big hunting party that he had with him. Rumours then spread that the burghers of the South African Republic were threatening to encroach on Zululand, which was the cause of Ketshwayo's movements; and the anti-republican portion of the press suggested that if such a thing as a government could be found north of the Vaal, Great Britain ought to make it pay the expense that Natal had incurred.

All this had happened without Panda, the nominal head of the Zulu tribe, being consulted or even made acquainted with it. The Utrecht people now considered that the validity of the cession might be questioned at some future time if any accident should happen to Ketshwayo, and that it would therefore be advisable to obtain Panda's approval. The man who was likely to have most influence with him was President Pretorius, of the Orange Free State; for the Zulu chief could not comprehend republican institutions, but had a deep-seated respect for the son and heir of the famous commandant to whom he owed his life as well as his position. It was assumed that the president would be very willing to serve his countrymen, though they belonged to a political party in opposition to him. Conciliation had always been one of the most prominent features in his character.

Through the medium of the acting government at Pretoria, it was arranged that a deputation consisting of Advocate Proes and Messrs. Steyn and Viljoen should visit Bloemfontein, nominally to discuss terms of union between the two republics, or, failing that, to decide the dispute concerning the Vaal river boundary, really to request Mr. Pretorius to accompany them to Panda's kraal and exert his influence on their behalf. The deputation had no difficulty in attaining its object.

On the 17th of May 1861 President Pretorius, accompanied by Messrs. Proes, Steyn, and Viljoen, left Bloemfontein. At Harrismith a commission from the Free State joined them, and a futile attempt was made to come to an agreement whether the Klip river or the upper Vaal should form the boundary between the two republics. The president and his associates then went on to Panda's kraal, and had an interview with that chief. After an exchange of assurances of friendship, the object of the mission was made known, when Panda gave his consent to the arrangement concerning the land. The deed of cession signed by Ketshwayo had not been brought with the deputation, but Panda promised to

affix his mark to it whenever it might be sent to him. The president then returned by way of Potchefstroom to Bloemfontein, where he arrived on the 31st of July.

A few weeks later a commission, consisting of Messrs. T. Potgieter, J. F. van Staden, and C. J. van Staden, visited Panda, and on the 5th of August 1861 the chief affixed his mark to a document ratifying the cession made by his son. Whether any discussion took place concerning St. Lucia Bay has never been known; but if a proposal to cede land there was made to the Zulu chief, it was certainly rejected. The line forming the boundary of the land added to the district of Utrecht ran from Rorke's Drift on the Buffalo river, by a range of hills, to a point on the Pongolo. It was not beaconed off in 1861.

During the next three years the condition of the South African Republic was such that no thought could be bestowed upon boundaries, and the land obtained from the Zulu chiefs was left unoccupied by white men. At length order was restored in the country, when the government became conscious that its relationship to several of its neighbours was greatly changed from what it had once been. Panda, however, was not so difficult to deal with as might have been expected. On the 30th of September 1864 the volksraad instructed the President to appoint a commission to confer with the Zulu chiefs and erect beacons along the Utrecht border, and when this was communicated to Panda he replied in a friendly manner, speaking of the burghers of the republic as his fathers and acknowledging his indebtedness to them.

In December 1864 President Pretorius, accompanied by Commandant-General Paul Kruger and Mr. Joseph Fourie, member of the executive council, visited Utrecht, and from that place sent messengers to Panda and Ketshwayo, requesting the chiefs to appoint delegates to assist in putting up beacons along the line. Panda thereupon appointed Gebula, and Ketshwayo directed one of his confidential servants, named Gunjini, to represent him. The line was then

beaconed off, the Zulu delegates pointing out the positions and placing the first stone of nearly every pile.

So far all had happened as favourably as the burghers could have wished. But the beacons had not been erected two months when matters assumed another aspect. Umtonga fled for the second time from Zululand, on this occasion taking refuge in Natal; and Ketshwayo then repented of his bargain. There was nothing to show in return for the ceded land. The young chief's resolution was soon taken, and in February 1865 a Zulu army appeared on the Utrecht border, and removed the beacons so recently set up.

Upon hearing this, Panda, who did not wish to quarrel with the white people, sent a message to the president, asking him to make another line. Accordingly, a commission was appointed, which arrived at the kraal Nodwengo on the 12th of June, and on the 16th had a conference with the chief. Ketshwayo was not present, and sent word that he was sick. To the surprise of the delegates, Panda and all his captains at first denied having any knowledge of a cession of land; but on the 17th Panda admitted that the line had been made with his consent, and affixed his mark to a document to that effect. He desired the commission, however, to request President Pretorius to change the end of the new boundary near the Pongolo river, so as to restore to Zululand some ground there.

Meantime, Ketshwayo, so far from being sick, was reviewing his army; and the burghers of the South African Republic were in a state of alarm, owing to reports that he was about to cross the border. To a considerable distance from the frontier the farmers went into lager. A commando assembled in the district of Wakkerstroom, to be ready to repel an invasion; but did not proceed to Utrecht, lest its appearance there might provoke hostilities. It was while watching events from Wakkerstroom, under these circumstances, that intelligence reached Commandant-General Paul Kruger of the outbreak of war between the Orange Free State and the Basuto of Moshesh.

A subject that was much discussed in Europe as well as in South Africa during this period was the existence of slavery in the republic. Charges against the burghers of reducing weak and helpless blacks to a condition of servitude were numerous and boldly stated on one side, and were indignantly denied on the other. That the laws were clearly opposed to slavery goes for nothing, because in a time of anarchy law is a dead letter. There is overwhelming evidence that blacks were transferred openly from one individual to another, and there are the strongest assertions from men of undoubted integrity that there was no slavery. To people in Europe it seemed impossible that both should be true, and the opinion was generally held that the farmers of the interior of South Africa were certainly slaveholders.

Since 1877 much concerning this matter that was previously doubtful has been set at rest. On the 12th of April of that year the South African Republic was proclaimed British territory, and when soon afterwards investigation was made, not a single slave was set free, because there was not one in the country. In the very heart of the territory kraals of blacks were found in as prosperous a condition as in any part of South Africa. It was ascertained that these blacks had always lived in peace with the white inhabitants, and that they had no complaints to make. Quite as strong was the evidence afforded by the number of the Bantu. In 1877 there were at the lowest estimate six times as many black people living in a state of semi-independence within the borders of the South African Republic as there had been on the same ground forty years before. Surely these people would not have moved in if the character of the burghers was such as most Englishmen believed it to be. A statement of actual facts is thus much more likely now to gain credence abroad than would have been the case in 1864.

The individuals who were termed slaves by the missionary party were termed apprentices by the farmers. The great

majority—probably nineteen out of every twenty—were children who had been made prisoners in the wars which the tribes were constantly waging with each other. In olden days it had been the custom for the conquering tribe to put all of the conquered to death, except the girls and a few boys who could be made useful as carriers. More recently they had become less inhuman, from having found that for smaller children they could obtain beads and other merchandise.

With a number of tribes bordering on the republic ready to sell their captives, with the Betshuana everywhere prepared to dispose of the children of their hereditary slaves, a few adventurous Europeans were found willing to embark in the odious traffic. Waggon-loads of children were brought into the republic, where they were apprenticed for a term of years to the first holder, and the deeds of apprenticeship could afterwards be transferred before a landdrost. This was the slavery of the South African Republic. Its equivalent was to be found a few years earlier in the Cape Colony, when negroes taken in slave ships by British cruisers were apprenticed to individuals. There would have been danger in the system if the demand for apprentices had been greater. In that case, the tribes might have attacked each other purposely to obtain captives for sale. But the demand was very limited, for the service of a raw black apprentice was of no great value. A herd boy, if diligent and faithful, might be worth something more than his food, clothing, and a few head of cattle which were given to him when his apprenticeship expired; but no other class of raw Bantu child was.

It is an open question whether it was better that these children should remain with the destroyers of their parents, and according to chance grow up either as slaves or as adopted members of the conquering tribe: or that they should serve ten or fifteen years as apprentices to white people, acquire some of the habits of European life, and then settle down as freemen with a little property. It was

answered in 1864, and will be answered to-day, according to the bias of the individual.

A small proportion of the apprentices were children taken as had been those of Setsheli's tribe, of whom sufficient has been written in a previous chapter.

The ecclesiastical quarrels came to an end with the cessation of political strife. Three other clergymen had arrived in the country. The reverend G. W. Smits had become pastor of the Rustenburg people who used hymns in public worship, so that there were now two congregations in that district. The reverend J. Begemann was stationed at Pretoria, and the reverend N. J. van Warmelo at Schoemansdal, the principal village in the district of Zoutpansberg.

After the decision of the supreme court of the Cape Colony which excluded the clergymen of the republics from the Cape synod, the reverend Mr. Van Heiningen, of Lydenburg, and the elders of the church at Utrecht united with the Dutch Reformed church in Natal. But early in 1864 they decided to have a general assembly of their own. This body met for the first time at Utrecht on the 3rd of December 1866. Mr. Van Heiningen had removed, and there was only one clergyman present on the occasion — the reverend F. L. Cachet, who had recently come to reside at Utrecht, — but there were elders representing eight congregations then established. After this date the great majority of Christians in the republic settled down into three bodies in friendly rivalry: the Dutch Reformed church of the old school, the Dutch Reformed church with rationalistic tendencies, and the Separatist Reformed church, all professing to hold by the decrees of the synod of Dordrecht and the doctrine of the Heidelberg catechism.

The laws making a distinction between professors of different beliefs had fallen into disuse, and in 1865 there was a clergyman of the church of England and one of the Congregational church residing in Potchefstroom. In the same village there was a Wesleyan missionary labouring

among the coloured people. Between them a friendly feeling existed, and there was no attempt to encroach upon each other's sphere of labour. On the 24th of February 1866 a new church, which was then regarded as a very fine building, was opened for public worship by the Dutch Reformed community in Potchefstroom. There were present at the dedication ceremony the Dutch Reformed clergymen of Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Rustenburg, and Zoutpansberg, and the clergymen of the other denominations, who, however, were spectators only.

After the opening of the church, a general assembly of the Dutch clergymen and elders was held, when the reverend Dirk van der Hoff, minister of Potchefstroom, was accused of holding rationalistic views, deemed heretical by those who maintained the doctrines of the Heidelberg catechism in their entirety. The charge was not very closely pressed, however, for though the conduct of the accused in private life was considered somewhat blamable at times, it was felt by every one that harsh proceedings against the oldest clergyman in the country would be at least indecorous. The trial was therefore a mere matter of form, and the accused was acquitted.

There were restrictions upon missionaries taking up their residence wherever they chose, the object being to prevent the spread of such political and social doctrines as had caused strife and ill feeling in the Cape Colony. But missionaries who confined their teaching to the truths of Christianity and the arts of civilised life had no difficulty in obtaining permission from the government to prosecute their labours. The Berlin and Hermansburg societies were beginning the extensive operations which they have since carried on among the Bantu tribes. The Dutch Reformed church of the Cape Colony also had commenced mission work with a branch of the Bavenda, and in 1862 had established a station in the north of the republic.

There were very few good educational institutions for children, and none deserving the name of high schools. The

same society in the Netherlands that sent out the first clergyman sent out also several qualified schoolmasters, but these individuals had soon drifted into other occupations much more remunerative than teaching. At each church-place there was an elementary school, however, in which reading, writing, a little arithmetic, and the principles of Christianity were taught; and most of the farmers employed itinerant teachers for short periods. The qualifications of these teachers were in general very limited, though a few of them were men of education who had fallen into poverty through intemperate habits.

As has been seen, a good many churches had been erected, but these were the only public buildings of any importance in the country. The civil servants were very poorly accommodated, the offices being small, roughly constructed, and barely furnished with the most necessary conveniences for carrying on business. The farmers, who were accustomed to live in the plainest manner in their own homes, could not realise that anything better was needed, and if they had done so, there were no funds with which to put up commodious and handsome buildings. The public revenue, if the taxes had been regularly paid, would have been very small, and as there were always arrears, it was with the utmost difficulty that sufficient money could be collected at any time to cover the trifling salaries of the officials. The rivers were unbridged, and the public roads were in general almost unattended to. At the same time every one had abundance of good plain food, and very few felt the want of luxuries. The farmers in general were living as their ancestors, the frontiersmen of the Cape Colony, had lived for generations, and they were quite satisfied to pass through life in that condition. Circumstances had made them the very best pioneers of civilisation in a country like South Africa, where at that time the ordinary comforts and conveniences of European towns followed very slowly the march of those who penetrated the interior wastes.

In September 1864 a scheme of colonisation of a portion of the unoccupied lands of the country was submitted to the government by a Scotchman named Alexander McCorkindale, who had been some time resident in Natal, and who had recently been endeavouring in vain to induce the volksraad of the Orange Free State to allot him a number of farms with reduced quitrent, on which to place immigrants. Mr. McCorkindale proposed to form a commercial association in Great Britain, which should send out at least three hundred suitable families and locate them on land then vacant, provided certain privileges were granted to him. The scheme included the establishment of a bank, the loan of a large sum of money to the republic at a moderate rate of interest, and the importation of a constant and cheap supply of ammunition.

Mr. McCorkindale further proposed to build warehouses at a spot where the Maputa river, which empties into Delagoa Bay, issues from the Lebombo mountains. It was believed that this river could be made navigable for large boats nearly as high as the site proposed for the warehouses, which was also beyond the belt along the coast that is particularly subject to fever of a deadly nature and is infested by the tsetse fly. This proposal found great favour with the people of the republic, who were exceedingly desirous of having a seaport under their own control.

From the earliest days of the great emigration from the Cape Colony, efforts had been made to open up communication with the outer world through Delagoa Bay. The Portuguese government had acted in the most friendly manner, and had done all that it could to assist these attempts. A small and precarious trade was established; but the deadly fever of the coast belt in the summer season, the destruction of cattle in the jungle by the tsetse, and the want of a waggon road had prevented its growth and its stability. Mr. McCorkindale's scheme—if it could be carried into effect, which he declared was quite feasible—would overcome all these difficulties.

The government therefore granted him many concessions, and agreed to sell him a block of two hundred farms, or about one million two hundred and fifty thousand acres of ground, for £8,000, that is, £40 for a farm. The district in which this ground was situated thereafter took the name of New Scotland. It lies along the Drakensberg, in an elevated and healthy region, and is bordered by the Swazi country, in which Mr. McCorkindale hoped to obtain by purchase a large tract of land as well as a roadway from his proposed colony to his stores at the Lebombo mountains.

The projector returned to Great Britain, and endeavoured to form colonisation companies in both England and Scotland. But he could not find a sufficient number of capitalists willing to embark in his scheme, and was therefore unable to carry it out in its entirety. He managed, however, to form an association, which took the name of the Glasgow and South Africa Company, and purchased forty farms at £40 each, the whole containing two hundred and fifty thousand acres. In 1866 he reached South Africa again with a large quantity of gunpowder and a party of Scotch immigrants. The immigrants, numbering in all about fifty souls, were located in January 1867 close to Lake Chrissie,* in New Scotland, but the ground on which they settled proved not to be so well adapted for either agricultural or pastoral purposes as had been anticipated. Most of them therefore turned to other pursuits, and soon found themselves in prosperous circumstances.

After again visiting Great Britain and expending a vast amount of energy and all the resources that he could command, Mr. McCorkindale proceeded to Delagoa Bay to make a thorough inspection of the harbour and coast, and died of fever at Inyaka Island on the 1st of May 1871. He left no one to carry out the great undertakings he had planned, which consequently fell to the ground with his death.

Owing to the long period of disorder, during which taxes could not be collected, the treasury of the republic was

*So named after the daughter of President Pretorius.

empty; and money was urgently required for the purchase of munitions of war, as well as for the payment of salaries to officers in the civil service, and to meet certain promissory notes—termed mandates—which the government had been obliged to issue. In June 1865 the volksraad resolved, as a temporary expedient, to issue notes to the value of £10,500. The notes were printed on blue foolscap. Some of them represented 7*s.* 6*d.*, others 15*s.* A promise was made to redeem them after eighteen months in metal coinage, and to pay interest upon them during that period at the rate of six per cent per annum. The public servants were obliged to receive them instead of money in payment of their salaries, though they soon fell greatly in value compared with gold or silver. This was the beginning of the public debt of the South African Republic.

In April 1865 some of the clans in the district of Zoutpansberg rose in arms, and the white inhabitants were obliged to retire into lagers. It was impossible to raise a commando to restore order, as from the other districts a large proportion of the adult males had gone to Wakkerstroom to be ready in case of a Zulu invasion. The people of Zoutpansberg were therefore left to take care of themselves until the difficulty with Ketshwayo could be settled. Being in lagers their lives were tolerably safe, though their property was exposed to destruction.

A comparison of dates and events shows that the attitude of Moshesh towards the Orange Free State was in no small degree due to the disturbances in the South African Republic. From that quarter, he must have believed, there was no likelihood of assistance being sent to the Europeans along his border. In 1865 it was supposed by many persons that he and Ketshwayo were in alliance, but that was not the case, as will be shown in the next chapter.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE WAR OF 1865-6 BETWEEN THE ORANGE FREE STATE AND THE BASUTO TRIBE.

SINCE the war of 1858 the relative military strength of the Free State and the Lesuto had altered considerably, though to observers at a distance the disparity between them seemed still enormous. The extent of the republic was much greater than in 1858, and in the interval immigration had largely increased its population. No exact census had yet been taken, but the number of Europeans of both sexes and of all ages was computed at thirty-five thousand souls. The Basuto had also increased in number, but not in the same proportion, as there had been no large influx of people from other tribes into their country. The subjects of Moshesh at this time were about one hundred and seventy-five thousand all told, or as five to one of their opponents.

In another respect also the disparity of 1858 was lessened. There were still factions in the Free State opposing each other in everything political, but by common consent in this supreme moment of danger their quarrels were suspended, and with one heart they responded to the president's call to arms. It was not his party, but his country, that each man rose to aid. Moshesh was becoming feeble by age, and, though he still retained all the wiliness of his younger days, he was no longer capable of making much exertion either in body or in mind. As his weakness increased, the religion of his youth was constantly recovering more and more hold upon him, and at this time he was completely under the influence of Bantu seers. His actions were now guided to a

large extent by the dreams and ravings of persons who were half-maniacs, and by the castings of divining bones and charms. A great portion of the authority which he had once wielded had under these circumstances passed into the hands of his sons, and these men, whose talents were not beyond those of ordinary barbarians, were intensely jealous of each other. Letsie, the eldest son by the principal wife, would gladly have seen Molapo, who was next to him in rank, destroyed or driven from the country. Molapo was bent upon making himself independent of Letsie. Masupha, who came next and who was the ablest of the three, was endeavouring to draw adherents from both his brothers. Even this war, which was popular with all because it promised plunder to all, could not cement for a day the rival Basuto factions.

In the matter of military supplies the combatants were on an equality, provided the war should not be a long one. The Basuto had accumulated a good stock of rifles and gunpowder, which contraband traders had brought into their country, and Moshesh had laid by a large quantity of ammunition received by him as toll from people of the north who had visited the Cape Colony for various purposes and passed through the Lesuto on their return to their homes. The leading chiefs had even obtained several cannon and some small field-guns. On the other hand these supplies, though considerable, were not inexhaustible, and the Free State had an open market in the colonies on the seaboard.

But apart from all comparisons as to numbers, political condition, and material of war, the advantages which the physical features of their country gave to the Basuto were so great that the Free State cause to ordinary observers seemed utterly hopeless. Yet thoughtful men might have remarked that from the earliest period of their history it was under such circumstances, when driven to extremities and with enormous odds against them, that the stubborn Batavian race has over and over again proved its right to

rank with the best and the bravest of the nations of the world.

A proclamation, intended as a reply to the president's declaration of war, was published in the name of Moshesh. It was the production of a European brain, but one saturated with Basuto subtilty. By a careful suppression of some facts and distortion of others the Basuto cause was put forth as a just one. The document was intended for readers in England, who knew nothing whatever of the cause of the war, and it was therefore so worded as to claim their sympathy. The respect of Moshesh for the Queen was dwelt upon, and Englishmen in the Free State were informed that if they would remain quietly on their farms they and their property would not be molested. It would have been too extravagant to have hazarded a clear statement that the Free State wished to deprive Moshesh of an acre of his ground, yet this was insinuated in the words with which the document ended, "all persons know that my great sin is that I possess a good and fertile country." Not a single Englishman in the Free State was deceived by this manifesto.

At a council of war held by the officers of the burgher forces which were rapidly assembling, it was resolved to attack Moperi first, and on the 13th of June the Free State army encamped within two miles (3·2 kilometres) of that chief's kraal, Mabolela, the mission station of the reverend Mr. Keck. The men of each district were mustered under their own commandant, and at the head of the whole force was Jan Fick, the same man who had suffered so much for his attachment to the British government in the Sovereignty days.

On the morning of the 14th eight hundred and fifty men, under Commandant-General Fick, with two fieldpieces under Captain Goodman, marched to attack Moperi. Two commandants—Malan and Fourie—were left with their burghers to defend the camp. As the foremost file entered a ravine between mountains, fire was opened upon it from

behind rocks and stone walls, but at too great a distance to do any damage. Immediately afterwards the burghers became aware that an army of eight or ten thousand warriors, under the chiefs Molapo, Masupha, Lerothodi, Moperi, Molitsane, and one or two others, was there to protect the kraal. Large bodies of horsemen, yelling defiance, came charging towards them, but halted beyond rifle reach. The hillsides were alive with Basuto foot.

While the Free State forces were vainly endeavouring to draw their opponents into close combat, word was brought that a strong division of the Basuto, under Letsie's son Lerothodi, was marching past them on the other side of a range of hills, with the evident object of attacking the camp. The commando thereupon fell back, and reached the camp in time to assist in its defence. Lerothodi's warriors pressed on in good style, and lost sixty or seventy men before they retired. A renegade European, who was leading one of their columns, was badly wounded by a shell, and died a few days later. On the Free State side, one burgher—Pieter Wessels by name—was killed, and another was slightly wounded.

As the Basuto were beaten back from the camp, the action of the 14th of June was termed a victory by the burghers; though they had not succeeded in making themselves masters of Mabolela.

Next morning a council of war was held. Nearly all the officers were of opinion that it would be an act of rashness to attempt to take the kraal from the strong force there to defend it, and that as the grass had been burnt off before their arrival it would be necessary to move away at once. There was one of the commandants, however, of a different opinion. Lourens Jacobus Wepener, a man held in esteem by all who knew him, for his upright conduct, his enterprising character, and his generous disposition, had moved from Aliwal North into the Free State less than two years before the war, and at its outbreak was elected commandant by the burghers of his district, Bethulie. He

had gained experience in former wars between the Kaffirs and the Cape colonists, being now fifty-three years of age, and having served in every conflict that had taken place since he could use a gun. The opinion which he expressed was that the enemy would be inspired with confidence, and the Europeans on the other hand be disheartened, if the army should retreat. It was necessary to take Moperi's kraal and to place the camp upon its site, in order to create enthusiasm among the burghers. To do this was worth a heavy sacrifice. He offered to call for a hundred volunteers from the other divisions, and with these and his own men, who he was confident would follow him, to make an attempt to take the place by storm. But, on the plea that there was very little ammunition in the camp, the gallant commandant's proposal was negatived, and it was decided to fall back.

Some time before the outbreak of hostilities—at least as early as the 29th of May, as is indicated in a letter of that date from Poshuli to Mr. Austen — the Basuto had arranged for an invasion of the Free State. The ordinary preparation of the warriors by the priests had been made. They had sent their women, children, and cattle from the exposed parts of the country into the Maluti mountains, and were only waiting to see in what direction the Free State forces would move.

Before daylight on the morning of the 20th of June, some two thousand warriors under Poshuli and Morosi crossed the Caledon near its junction with Wilgeboom Spruit, and commenced to ravage the district before them. From the farm adjoining the commonage of Smithfield they laid waste a broad belt of country for a distance of thirty miles or 48 kilometres towards Bloemfontein. The inhabitants, warned just in time to save their lives, fled without being able to remove anything. The invaders burned the houses, broke whatever implements they could not set fire to, and drove off more than one hundred thousand sheep, besides great droves of horned cattle and horses. In an

hour the richest men in the district of Smithfield were reduced to destitution.

In this raid thirteen white men lost their lives. A patrol consisting of fifteen burghers was surrounded at Jakhalsfontein, when twelve of them—by name Jacobus Greyling, Louis Taljaard, Pieter Wessels, Jurie Human, Barend Olivier, Pieter Swanepoel, Daniel Robberts, Hendrik Robberts, Hendrik Stroebel, Jacobus Kotze, Robert Robertson, and Peter Bay—were killed. The other three succeeded in cutting their way out. A young man named Hugo Stegmann was murdered in another part of the district.

But the events of the day showed that in a fair field the burghers were able to hold their own against ten times their number of Basuto. A patrol consisting of thirty-five men was surrounded on an open plain, where for hours the raiders hovered round them without daring to come to close quarters, and at nightfall the little band retired with only one man slightly wounded. The invading force was divided into three or four parties, the foremost of which was turned back by a company of eighty farmers. These burghers were joined during the night by a few others, and on the 21st the Basuto, who were then retreating with their booty, were followed up, and were so nearly overtaken that they abandoned between three and four thousand sheep on the right bank of the Caledon.

Another raiding party, about two thousand five hundred or three thousand strong, under Masupha and Moperi, entered the Free State at a point farther north, and ravaged the country as far as the farm on which in October 1866 the present village of Brandfort was founded. This party committed several massacres of a peculiarly barbarous nature.

Most of the half-breeds who had formerly lived at Platberg, and who had acknowledged Carolus Baatje as their head, by permission of the Free State government had been residing for some years at Rietspruit, about forty or forty-five kilometres from Bloemfontein. On the morning of the 27th of June a large party of Basuto carrying a white flag

appeared at the village, and saluted the half-breeds with friendly greetings. Moshesh's son Masupha, who was in command, said that they had nothing to fear, for he was at war with no one but white men. An ox was killed for the entertainment of the visitors, and the Basuto and half-breeds sat down together to partake of food, all the time conversing as friends. When the meal was over, Masupha gave a signal, on which his followers fell without warning upon the wretched half-breeds and murdered fifty-four men and boys, not sparing even male infants at the breast. Of the residents of the village only eight men escaped. Of these, seven were at the time away on a hunting expedition, and one, who was a short distance off when the massacre took place, managed to hide himself in an anteater's den. The murderers compelled the grown-up girls to get into a waggon, which they took away with them, together with such other property of their victims as they fancied, leaving sixty-seven women and little girls behind.

On the following day a large party of Basuto carrying a white flag approached the homestead of a wealthy farmer named Jan Botes, one of those who had been heavily fined by Sir Harry Smith after the battle of Boomplaats. Including two coloured servants, there were only seven individuals capable of bearing arms at the place. Deceived by the white flag, old Mr. Botes permitted the Basuto to come close up and dismount, when they fired a volley which wounded a German schoolmaster named Schwim and killed one of the servants. Old Mr. Botes they stabbed to death with an assagai. The remaining four had by this time seized their guns, and Botes' eldest son shot a Mosuto, but was immediately afterwards killed himself. The other three apparently frightened the assassins, for they pretended to ride away. As soon as they were out of sight, the survivors mounted their best horses, and rode towards the nearest lager. The Basuto followed, and easily overtook Schwim and the women. These they compelled to return. The women lifted Schwim from his horse, and his wife sat down

by him. The Basuto taunted them for a while, then they made a target of the wretched man, and after firing several shots at him, finally stabbed him with assagais. After this, they destroyed everything on the place. When they left, the women set out again for the nearest lager, and after walking all night reached it in the morning.

Another party of Masupha's followers fell in with some travellers on the main road, and murdered two of them, named Michiel van Helsdingen and Carel Mathee. A little farther they overtook a trader named Michiel Theron, who was endeavouring to make his escape, and murdered him and his servants.

On the 29th of June the warriors of Masupha and Moperi were retiring with a booty of seventy thousand sheep, over two thousand head of horned cattle, fifty horses, and four waggons laden with spoil, when at Verkeerde Vlei they were encountered by three burgher patrols which met there by chance. The white men, only two hundred and fifty-eight all told, did not hesitate to attack the Basuto, who were fully ten times their number. Commandant Louis Wessels, of Bloemfontein, led the charge. The result was the rapid flight of the cowardly band, who left one hundred and sixty dead on the field. The burghers had no other casualty than one horse killed. All the spoil that was being driven off by the raiders was recovered, even to the half-breed girls, who were rescued and sent for safety to Bloemfontein.

A third raiding band, consisting of about two thousand warriors of the clans of Molapo and Ramanela, ravaged the country along their line of march to within fifteen miles or twenty-four kilometres of the village of Kroonstad. They murdered an old man named Luttig and a boy named Nieuwenhuizen, and secured a large booty in horned cattle and sheep.

In none of these raids were villages attacked, but the farm houses were set on fire, and everything that could not be carried away was destroyed. The lives of females who

were overtaken were spared, but in most instances they were stripped of clothing and taunted before they were set at liberty.

On the same day that the massacre of the half-breeds took place, an equally atrocious deed was performed in another quarter. A party of Europeans with five transport waggons laden with goods belonging to Messrs. Wm. Munro & Co., of Durban, Natal, and destined for Pretoria in the South African Republic, where the firm of Munro had a branch establishment, had halted to rest their cattle on the Drakensberg, a few metres on the Free State side of the Natal boundary. The party consisted of Pieter Pretorius, who was a near relative of the president of the South African Republic, his sons Jan, Albertus, and Jacobus, Andries Smit, Jan Pretorius's wife and two children, six black men servants, a little black servant boy, and an Indian coolie. The oxen were being inspanned when a large body of armed Basuto under Ramanela made their appearance. The white men caught up their guns, but the Basuto called to them to come and talk as friends. The white men then went towards Ramanela's party and explained that they were not citizens of the Free State nor combatants, and that the goods on their waggons belonged to Englishmen. The explanation appeared to be satisfactory, and in the supposition that they were safe the Europeans laid down their guns, when instantly the Basuto fell upon them and murdered the five white men, the coolie, and three of the black servants. The other servants, being Batlapin, were spared.

The murderers then left a guard with the waggons, and went down into Natal. In the afternoon they returned with large droves of cattle, and went on homewards, taking the waggons with them. On the way the waggon in which the widow and children were confined broke down, and was abandoned after the Basuto had removed the goods and loaded their pack oxen with whatever they thought most valuable. During the night the three Batlapin men made

their escape, and conveyed intelligence of the massacre to Harrismith, when a party was immediately sent out to search for the other survivors. In the meantime the widow with her two children and the little black boy, having left the waggon as soon as the Basuto were out of sight, had lost her way, and only in the morning of the 29th reached the village, after wandering about for thirty-six hours.

On the 27th of June, at the very time that Ramanela's marauding band was lifting cattle in the colony of Natal, Sir Philip Wodehouse issued in Capetown a proclamation of neutrality, in which all British subjects, European and coloured, were warned against assisting either belligerent. It was, however, beyond his power to prevent aid from reaching both the Free State and the Lesuto.

When intelligence of the sufferings of their kindred reached the colony, many a stalwart farmer shouldered his rifle and rode off to the Free State camps. The Batlokua refugees in the Herschel district could not be restrained. Lehana, son of Sikonyela, came up from Griqualand East with a band of followers, was joined by the Herschel party, and crossed the Orange to help the burghers against his hereditary foe. Many of the Fingos of Herschel, calling to mind ancient feuds and probably thinking of plunder, made their way to the nearest lager and tendered their services. Adam Kok, who was supposed to be under colonial influence though he was not under colonial jurisdiction, joyfully seized the opportunity of retaliating upon the Basuto for the robberies of Poshuli and Nehemiah, and brought a band of Griquas to fight certainly for their own hand, but on the Free State side. These auxiliaries all combined amounted at one time during the war to as many as eight hundred men.

On the other hand Moshesh received equal assistance from his friends. The bravest warriors that fought for him were strangers from below the mountains who hastened to the Lesuto with a view of sharing the spoil. Among these was a Tembu clan under a chief named Tshali, the same

people to whom a portion of Emigrant Tembuland was assigned a little later by Sir Philip Wodehouse.

Very different from a declaration of neutrality was a proclamation issued on the 26th of June by Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, then president of the South African Republic. In the warmest language of sympathy he invited all who could to go to the assistance of the Free State. "Rise brothers, rise fellow citizens, give help where danger threatens. Delay not, or you may be for ever too late. God will bless you for doing good to your brethren. Forward! As soon as possible I will myself follow you." But the people of the northern republic believed that Ketshwayo was threatening them, and though most men agreed with the president that if Moshesh could be compelled to observe his engagements no other tribe would attempt to disturb the peace, it was not possible just then for much assistance to be sent from that quarter.

The devastation of the border country, though it entailed ruinous losses upon individuals, was in a military sense advantageous to the Free State. A larger number of burghers could now be spared for the invasion of the Lesuto, as only small patrols were needed beyond the blackened border belt. The Basuto were almost sure not to venture so far from their mountains, and if they should, a few burghers on a plain would be able to drive them back.

It was therefore resolved in a general council of war that an attempt should be made to get possession of Thaba Bosigo, with which object the Free State forces were to advance upon the famous stronghold in two divisions from different directions.

The burghers of the districts of Smithfield, Bethulie, and Philippolis, with Jan Letele's people and the Fingos, under Commandant Wepener, marched by way of Koesberg. On the 13th of July they formed a camp within easy march of Vechtkop, the strongly fortified mountain which had been for many years the residence of the robber chief Poshuli, but which was garrisoned at this time by the clan of

Lebenya. Wepener resolved to make himself master of this stronghold, which the Basuto believed to be impregnable. During the night he called for volunteers to follow him up the steep path that led to the summit, and his call was gallantly responded to.

In the grey dawn of the morning of the 14th, three hundred and forty burghers and two hundred Fingos, with the brave commandant at their head, stormed up the mountain, and at half past five o'clock, before the light was clear, they were in possession of it. The Basuto were entrenched behind stone walls built on ledges along the faces of precipices, positions so strong that with courageous defenders they could not have been taken. But Lebenya's followers, though they consumed a large quantity of ammunition, shut their eyes when they fired, so that the loss on the Free State side was only one man killed and four wounded. The arrant cowards did something even more disgraceful than firing at an enemy with their eyes closed. They placed their women in front of them wherever they were exposed, with the result that of the sixty dead bodies found in the sconces after the fighting was over, more than half were those of females. The commandant in his report expressed great regret at this circumstance, but no one can justly blame him for it.

The spoil found on Vechtkop consisted of one hundred and fifty horses, five hundred and forty-two head of horned cattle, and four thousand five hundred sheep. The Free State forces were so inconsiderable that it was not possible to leave a garrison even on such an important stronghold as this. All that could be done therefore was to disarm the enemy, who appeared to be thoroughly cowed, destroy the huts, and move on.

From Vechtkop Wepener marched almost due north, destroying Poshuli's villages as he advanced. Morosi, in a great fright, fearing that the commandant might pay him a visit, sent all his women and stock away into the mountains along the head waters of the Orange. On the last day of

July Wepener's division reached Matsieng* and attacked Letsie's force, which gave way after a very short engagement. A camp was then formed in Letsie's town, and from it Wepener issued a proclamation in which he declared the country he had overrun annexed to the Free State, the boundary of the Lesuto to be in future a straight line from Bamboesplaats at the east of Pampoenspruit to Thaba Tele—a peak of the Maluti two thousand seven hundred and forty metres or nine thousand feet in height—about three miles or five kilometres east of Matsieng, and from that point a straight line north by compass to the Caledon. Two days later he sent to the landdrost of Smithfield such cattle taken from Letsie as he did not need. The herd consisted of one thousand one hundred and forty-two horses, three thousand five hundred horned cattle, and eleven thousand five hundred and eighty-five sheep.

During this time the other and larger division of the Free State forces was equally successful in its operations. General Fick had with him the burghers of the districts of Bloemfontein, Harrismith, Boshof, Jacobsdal, Fauresmith, Winburg, and Kroonstad, under Commandants Wessels, De Villiers, Bester, Joubert, Roos, Senekal, Malan, and Fourie. On the 17th of July he moved against Moperi's kraal, but found it abandoned. On the 20th he crossed the Caledon, and proclaimed the whole country north and west of that river annexed to the Free State. On the 24th he crossed the Putiatsana, his passage being unsuccessfully disputed by the enemy.

On the 25th of July General Fick directed an assault upon the Berea mountain. The path up it was steep, but not so dangerous as that of Vechtkop. It was, however, defended by fully five thousand Basuto warriors, under Masupha, the ablest of Moshesh's sons. These were posted on crags and behind great boulders. They were well armed,

* Commonly called "Letsie's new town" in the documents of the time. It is about ten kilometres east of Morija. Letsie took up his residence there after the burning of his huts at Morija in the war of 1858.

many of them with pistols as well as rifles, and they had two cannon at the top of the pathway. The burghers crept up from boulder to boulder, in little parties of five or six together, shooting down every Mosuto who dared to expose himself. Very few, however, ventured even to look at the storming party. The poltroons fired into the air, without doing the slightest damage, and discharged their cannon when no one was in front of them, as if noise alone would frighten back their opponents. Near the top it was necessary for the storming party to close in and make a rush. First upon the mountain were three young men whose names—Chapman, Owen, and Bertram—denote the nation from which they sprang. These gallant fellows actually dashed forward at a crowd of Basuto not half pistol shot from them. Close behind, the remainder of the storming party came clambering up, when the assassins of the half-breeds and of the defenceless white men encountered in the recent raid, panic stricken, abandoned their cannon and turned and fled.

In no former war, in no war that has since taken place, have the Basuto behaved in such a cowardly manner. Well might it be believed in the Free State camp that God had stricken their treacherous foe with confusion, for never in the world's history was a victory won against greater odds. The only casualty was one burgher wounded, while the corpses of a hundred Basuto were lying around. Masupha's kraal was upon the Berea. General Fick took possession of it, and formed his camp upon its site.

The day after the Berea was stormed five hundred Barolong under Tsepinare, Moroko's adopted son and heir, joined the Free State forces. This was a busy day with the burghers. At early dawn eleven hundred men commenced making a waggon road up the mountain. They were looking down on the mission station and on a great Basuto army garrisoning Thaba Bosigo. It was General Fick's intention to fortify a camp about a kilometre from Moshesh's residence, and then to send a strong force to meet Com-

mandant Wepener. In the afternoon Commandant De Villiers' division with the cannon moved from the camp at Masupha's kraal to the south-western point of the Berea over against Thaba Bosigo, to try the range, when the commandant observed with satisfaction that Moshesh's house was struck with balls from both the Armstrong and Whitworth guns.

On the third of August Wepener marched from Matsieng and joined General Fick before Thaba Bosigo, where the entire force of the Free State, consisting of two thousand one hundred burghers, five hundred Barolong, and four hundred Fingos, Batlokua, and Bamonaheng, was now concentrated. Some twenty thousand Basuto warriors were gathered there also, but they could not be drawn to an engagement.

On the 27th of July a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon the flat top of Thaba Bosigo from a battery placed on a point of the Berea which commanded it. The fire was continued day after day, though it was soon ascertained that hardly any destruction of life was caused by it. It was replied to by an occasional ball from Moshesh's cannon, which also did little or no damage.

On the 8th of August an attempt was made to take Thaba Bosigo by storm. A strong party clambered up the pathway at the southern extremity, but on approaching the top found that stone walls had been built across the passage. The Basuto were in great force above, and had collected a number of boulders which they now rolled down on the storming party, compelling them to retire with ten men wounded.

By this time the disorder which it is almost impossible to suppress in a body of men without discipline, huddled together without comfort and without constant occupation, was beginning to show itself in the Free State camp. The burghers and their commandants were socially on a perfect equality, and every man claimed the right of expressing his opinion upon any subject at any time. A dozen different

plans of carrying on the war were discussed, and each plan had violent advocates. Jealousies and divisions were daily increasing.

It was the winter season, and in that high mountain-land the cold winds were keenly felt by the burghers, who were not provided with adequate shelter. It was with great difficulty that fuel could be obtained to cook the millet and meat, which were the principal—and at times the only—food. Subscriptions of coffee, sugar, biscuits, &c., had been made in the villages for the use of the men in the field; but the supply of such articles was very far from sufficient, as the impoverished people were quite unable to give as much as was needed. Altogether, the hardships which the burghers were undergoing were so great that they could not be sustained long. Many men were already becoming faint-hearted, and were devising excuses to leave the camp.

The characteristics of individuals were strongly brought out by the kind of life they were leading. Some became morose, others burned with passion to punish the Basuto for causing so much misery, while a few seemed to grow more joyous and lighthearted as time wore on. In the long cold evenings parties would gather round the scanty fires on which their food was cooking, when the descendants of the old colonists would by turns sing psalms and make plans to finish the war. Close by a party of youths of English birth would cause the hills to echo with songs of love, and war, and the sea. The wits of many were sharpened by the change from the ordinary quiet life of farms and villages to the excitement of war, though unattended by pomp or show of any kind, and accompanied by discomforts that would demoralise the best army in Europe. The newspapers of South Africa contained numerous well-written letters from men who under other circumstances would not have troubled themselves to use a pen, and a large quantity of verse in Dutch and English appeared in print. This, however, was mostly very indifferent as poetry,

though breathing a strong warlike—and in some instances also a vindictive—spirit.*

On the other side, the Basuto were less boastful than at the commencement of the war. They had secured an enormous quantity of spoil in the raids into the Free State, but much of it had been recovered by the burgher forces, and more had been wasted. There was nothing left that they could get in future by similar means. Their armies had been beaten by mere patrols in the open field, and two of their strongholds—Vechtkop and Berea—had been wrested

* Perhaps the best, or, at any rate, among the best of the ballads which the war called forth was the following, written by Mr. William Collins, of Bloemfontein:

Up burghers, all throughout our State, from Nu- to Ky-Gariep,
Rise as one man, with heart and hand, shake off your seven years sleep.
Be men at last, whate'er your stock, and prove that poet wrong
Who called your freedom *mockery*, once in reproachful song.
Prove that the lion on your shield is not an emblem vain,
And scorn to wear another hour the foul Basuto chain.
Shame not the European blood that in your bosoms flows,
And rush like men, though few you be, on your ignoble foes.
The Saxon blood which, scarce yet dried, their coward fingers stains,
Wash out at once with fluid drawn from their own meaner veins.
Can one true man in danger's hour the field of strife evade,
While boys and greybeards weak go forth with rifle and with blade?
Behold the newly-kindled light in timid woman's eye,
Which cries, though in unuttered words, "march men and do or die."
Fear not yon seeming power great, a tottering structure built
On years of fraud, too long endured, and half an age of guilt.
Strike the gaunt image in whose shade we pine, without delay,
Though iron it may seem, your strokes will prove its feet of clay.
Think of the time when feebler hands a mightier foeman quelled,
You who then battled, or even you whose youthful eyes beheld
Your fathers fight the Zulu hosts, and are their sons less brave
When God and country call you forth your dear-bought homes to save?
Wait not for aye for promised help from cold onlooking world,
By your own hands the avenging bolt must now, or ne'er, be hurled.
And you, brave few, whose life drops flow from Britain's parent heart,
Need you my humble words to show in this wild strife your part?
Full little knew the treacherous foe how his false words would turn
To deadlier hate and scorn the hearts where generous passions burn.
On then, my countrymen, and strive, with heaven-directed might,
The God of armies will support your conflict for the right.

from them. Still they were by no means despondent, as they anticipated that the burghers would soon be worn out and compelled to withdraw from the Lesuto.

On the 15th of August another attempt was made to take Thaba Bosigo by assault, an attempt made memorable by the death of one of South Africa's bravest sons, Commandant L. J. Wepener. At sunrise six hundred burghers were left to guard the camp, and the rest of the force was moved out with the intention of storming the mountain. Such a want of preparation and above all of coöperation was manifest, however, that General Fick gave up the idea for that day, and issued instructions for a march round the mountain. Commandant Wepener, who thought that a failure to make the attempt would disgrace the Free State forces, then proposed to lead a storming party of volunteers. Commandant Wessels offered to accompany Wepener, and General Fick gladly consented.

The arrangements were speedily made. A heavy artillery fire was opened upon the face and crown of the mountain above the mission station, under cover of which the storming party crept upwards from rock to rock until the entrance to the narrow and steep fissure which leads to the summit was gained. Just before reaching this, Wepener observed that there were not more than a hundred and twenty men with him, many who had volunteered having turned back faint-hearted. He sent down to beg the general to try to get reinforcements, but to the disgrace of the burghers below only a few Fingos offered. Across the entrance to the fissure a strong stone wall over a metre high was found, and it was seen that every few metres between it and the top a similar wall had been built, behind which parties of Basuto were lying completely sheltered from the fire of the artillery. Still the storming party pressed on. At the first wall Wepener fell, shot through the heart, and several of the best men in the commando fell beside him. Commandant Wessels continued to advance, and actually got possession of two or three of the barricades when he was severely

wounded and was obliged to retire. The storming party was then seized with a panic, and rushed in wild confusion down the mountain, followed at a considerable distance by a band of Masupha's warriors hooting and yelling.

Besides Wepener there were nine men — Jacobus Engelbrecht, John Horspoole, Gerrit Joubert, Theodorus van Eeden, Sampson Daniel, Wilhelm Hoevels, Adam Raubenheimer, Jan Dry, and a half-breed named Jacobus Stolz— killed in this second futile attempt to take Thaba Bosigo, and thirty-four others were wounded.

From this repulse until the 23rd no event of any importance took place. The commando lay dispirited in camp, and was rapidly diminishing by desertion. The burghers had been more than two months away from their homes, and could not be kept together now that all hope of a speedy termination of the war had to be abandoned.

Moshesh, who was well informed of what was going on, believed that events were about to take the same course as in 1858, and that if he could but gain a few days grace any danger of another attempt to storm his stronghold would be removed. On the 23rd he wrote to the president, proposing to invite the high commissioner to arrange terms of peace. When this letter was sent down to the camp to be forwarded to Bloemfontein, the chief asked for an armistice. General Fick informed the messenger that if Moshesh would supply fifteen hundred head of slaughter oxen as provision for his army, he would suspend hostilities for six days. On the 24th Moshesh asked that the armistice should be extended beyond six days, but he sent no cattle to the camp. A council of war was therefore held, at which it was decided to resume hostile operations at once, by detaching a force to scour the Maluti in search of cattle, and closely blockading Thaba Bosigo with the remainder.

While these new movements were in preparation, a herd of from sixteen to twenty-five thousand oxen arrived at the mountain. Moshesh had been so certain that the burghers were about to leave that he had given instructions for these

cattle to be brought down to their summer pasturage, and by some mismanagement his orders had been carried out too soon. The whole herd was now driven by the back pathway to the top of Thaba Bosigo, to prevent its falling into the hands of the burghers. This was hardly effected when the investment of the mountain was completed, and then the cattle, without grass or water in a space so confined, soon became frantic. They rushed wildly about, trampling down such huts as the bombardment had spared, and pressing whole droves together over the precipices, where they were dashed to pieces. For many days the moanings of the great herd were pitiful to hear in the camps below. At last these sounds died away, and there lay on Thaba Bosigo over four thousand carcases, while at least three times that number were decaying on the ledges and crags. A horrible stench filled the atmosphere. Clouds of vultures settled on the carrion, but weeks passed away before it disappeared.

On the 28th of August a messenger from Bloemfontein brought to General Fick the president's reply to Moshesh's letter. Adjutant-General Lange was at once sent with it to the foot of the mountain, where he displayed a white flag. Nehemiah came down, and the president's letter was handed to him, with an intimation that Mr. Lange would wait for a reply from his father Moshesh. In a couple of hours Nehemiah returned with Tsekelo. They stated that George was away—which was an untruth,—and that in his absence Moshesh could not make out the conditions properly. They requested Mr. Lange to go up and see their father, but he declined to do so. Nehemiah then asked for a truce of three days in order that Moshesh might have time for consideration, to which Mr. Lange agreed.

In his reply, which was dated the 25th of August, President Brand stated that he was desirous of peace, not a sham settlement, but a real peace. He proposed the following terms:

1. Moshesh to surrender Thaba Bosigo with all the arms and ammunition there to the Free State forces. The

mountain to be in future occupied by a Free State magistrate, under whose supervision the Basuto chief should govern his people.

2. Moshesh to pay within four days ten thousand head of horned cattle and five thousand horses as war expenses, and thirty thousand head of horned cattle and sixty thousand sheep as compensation for robberies committed and damages caused by his people.

3. The land outside the lines proclaimed by Messrs. Fick and Wepener to be annexed to the Free State.

If these terms were accepted, Moshesh was within three hours after receipt of the letter to send two of his principal sons to remain as hostages in the Free State camp.

Such conditions at first sight seem extravagant. Moshesh was at that moment at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, well supplied with munitions of war, and in possession of an impregnable fortress. The Free State army, that never exceeded three thousand combatants, was rapidly melting away. But the president felt that this combat was one of life or death, and that if civilisation was not to recede the Basuto power must be broken. The burghers were going home, it was true, but nearly every man promised to return after a short visit to his family. The religious fervour of the people was high. Men everywhere not only said, but really believed, that God would certainly bless their righteous cause.

The women showed a spirit of the deepest devotion. Family ties in South Africa are stronger than in most countries, and the absence of the men from their homes was attended with losses and privations to their kindred which it would be difficult to overestimate. But wives and mothers were at this time urging the men to do their duty and free the state from the losses and indignities to which it had so long been exposed.

Then there was unexpected hope of aid. On the 20th of July President Pretorius considered the South African Republic in such danger that, by advice of the executive

council, he proclaimed martial law in force. By this proceeding the courts were closed for the hearing of civil cases, judgments for debt were suspended, and even the payment of certain taxes was postponed.

But shortly after this Ketshwayo gave Commandant-General Kruger assurances that he had no hostile intentions, and, to show that he was in earnest, he removed his army from the Utrecht border and sent the regiments to their respective kraals. This enabled the government to act vigorously, and on the 7th of August President Pretorius demanded from Moshesh the delivery of the murderers of the citizens of the South African Republic on the 27th of June and payment of the value of the property seized, with the alternative of war. A commando of two hundred men, under Marthinus Schoeman, was sent to Zoutpansberg to assist in the protection of the Europeans in lager there; and a strong force, under Commandant-General Paul Kruger, was called out to march to the Lesuto in case Moshesh should not comply with the president's demand, which it was almost certain he would not do.

Under these circumstances, the Free State cause appeared to President Brand so hopeful as to justify him in endeavouring to make conditions that would prevent the Basuto from again disturbing the peace. He stated subsequently that he did not expect his terms to be accepted in their entirety; he proposed them, but left it open for Moshesh to offer modifications. This is a course followed between civilised nations, but it is beyond question that a much better plan in dealing with barbarians is to say at once, *this I will accept and nothing less.*

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE WAR OF 1865-6 BETWEEN THE ORANGE FREE STATE AND THE BASUTO TRIBE—(*continued*).

ON the day following the receipt of the president's letter, Moshesh wrote to the high commissioner Sir Philip Wodehouse that he could not comply with the terms, which were immoderate, and requested his Excellency to come and establish peace, offering at the same time to give himself and his country up to her Majesty's government under conditions to be afterwards agreed upon. This letter was sent to Aliwal North under charge of George Moshesh, who left with instructions to wait there until a reply should arrive.

Moshesh did not reply to the president until the 17th of September. All this time a constant cannonading upon Thaba Bosigo had been kept up, but without causing any damage. Mr. William Reed, an Englishman who was sent to Moshesh with a letter from the high commissioner, and who spent five days on the mountain, described the condition of affairs there to Mr. Burnet for his Excellency's information. There were from fifteen hundred to eighteen hundred people with Moshesh, mostly men, who were disposed in pickets along the edge of the mountain. There was no scarcity of food apparent. About three hundred head of cattle were still alive, together with ten horses and a hundred and fifty sheep and goats. In addition to meat, there was plenty of millet and coffee. The only article of which the Basuto were short was lead, consequently there was not much firing, only about a hundred shots a day. There were five white renegades with Moshesh, one of whom was a gunsmith.

The reply of Moshesh, which was written and signed by Tsekelo, was to the effect that the conditions proposed by Mr. Brand were too severe for him to comply with, and he asked that a communication might be opened between them through the medium of the adjutant-general. Mr. Reed had informed him that the president had just arrived in the camp.

To this Mr. Brand answered that he considered the conditions necessary to secure a real and permanent peace, but that he was willing to consider any modifications which Moshesh might wish to suggest. The chief could deliver a written statement of such modifications to the adjutant-general. At the same time the president complained of Moshesh making use of his son Tsekelo as his secretary. This young chief's character was such that a European would instinctively shrink from having any dealings with him, though the Basuto revered him on account of his birth. He had been false to every one who had at any time trusted him, he was a convicted horsestealer, and he was notorious for his amours with his own brothers' wives.

On the following day — the 18th — Moshesh asked for an armistice, in order that he might have a personal interview with Mr. Lange. This was conceded, and the interview took place, but without any good result. Moshesh was indisposed to make any concessions whatever. He sent a statement in writing to the president that his desire was to come to peace on equal terms; that he had fully considered the proposed conditions, and found he could not comply with any of them; and that he would agree to nothing but the boundary defined by his Excellency the governor of the Cape Colony. Mr. Brand could therefore only declare the armistice at an end.

By the 25th of September the Free State forces had become so weak from desertion that the council of war resolved to raise the siege of Thaba Bosigo. The men who remained were formed into a couple of flying columns, one of which, under Commandant Pieter Wessels, was to scour

the country along the Orange, while the other, under General Fick, proceeded to the north to join a force then on its way from the South African Republic, and afterwards to attack Molapo.

The Transvaal burghers — nine hundred and seventy in number — were accompanied by President Pretorius, but were under the military direction of Commandant-General Paul Kruger. On the 28th of September they encamped at Naauwpoort, and there, at three o'clock the next morning, they were attacked by Molapo's followers aided by a party of warriors from beyond the mountains. The burghers were taken completely by surprise, for the first intimation that an enemy was in the neighbourhood was the rush of the Basuto into their camp. But to spring to their feet and grasp their weapons was the work of only a few seconds. The fight was short, for the assailants speedily retreated, receiving a volley of slugs as they fled. Six burghers were killed, and in the morning the dead bodies of fifty-four Basuto were found.

On the 3rd of October General Kruger encamped at Sikonyela's Hoed, and three days later he effected a junction with General Fick's force in sight of Molapo's town of Leribe, since 1858 the mission station of the reverend Mr. Coillard. The united commandos consisted of only twelve hundred men. The Basuto did not wait to be attacked, but a little before sunset they set their kraals on fire, and fled. That evening General Fick proclaimed the district between the Caledon and the Putiatsana Free State territory.

The combined forces then scoured the country without any opposition and without any result, until the 23rd, when they encountered the enemy in great force at Cathcart's Drift on the Caledon. The seers had predicted that at this place their countrymen would be triumphant, the warriors had partaken of raw flesh torn from the bodies of still living bulls to give them courage, and all the ceremonies which their religion imposed had been carefully observed. The Basuto were thus confident of victory, and awaited the

shock of battle more manfully than on any previous occasion during the war. But after a short and sharp engagement they broke and fled, leaving seven hundred and seventy horses, seven thousand nine hundred and forty-four head of horned cattle, and four thousand one hundred and fifty sheep, which were grazing in the neighbourhood, in the hands of the conquerors.

It had been the custom when cattle were captured to give up any that individual burghers swore to as having been stolen from them. All that remained were sold at auction, and the proceeds—after deducting the government dues of one-fourth — were distributed among the captors. This system gave rise to a great deal of jealousy and ill-feeling, as it was known that on many occasions cattle were claimed and sworn to by people who had no right to them. Commandant-General Kruger introduced another rule. Cattle once in possession of the Basuto, he declared, were lost to their previous owners, and could not be reclaimed as a matter of right. It was exposing unprincipled men to temptation to give them every ox they chose to swear to; and therefore, except under special circumstances, all stock taken from the enemy should be kept for the benefit of the captors.

On the 30th of October General Kruger's force set out to return home, without making peace with Moshesh before it left. The burghers could not be kept longer in the field, and the president and commandant-general were anxious to investigate matters at Zoutpansberg. The Free State was thus again left entirely to its own resources to carry on the war.

On the 1st of November Commandant Pieter Wessels with a small party of burghers, a few Fingos from Herschel, Jan Letele's Bamonaheng, and Lehana's Batlokua, attacked Morosi's clan on the north bank of the Orange river. On this and the following day one hundred and five Baputi were killed, and fifty-three horses, nine hundred and thirty-four head of horned cattle, and two thousand and thirty-

two sheep were captured. Morosi in this extremity sent messengers to Mr. John Austen, superintendent of the Wittebergen reserve and the nearest colonial officer, to ask to be taken under British protection. He did this without any reference to Moshesh. Mr. Austen at once forwarded the application to Mr. Burnet, civil commissioner of Aliwal North, for transmission to Sir Philip Wodehouse. On the 5th of November Morosi sent to Mr. Austen to say that if he was attacked again he would take refuge with his whole following in the reserve.

As it would not be possible to get a reply from Capetown within a fortnight, Mr. Austen then wrote to Commandant Wessels offering his services as a mediator, and an arrangement was made by which Morosi on payment of five hundred head of cattle obtained an armistice until the president could be communicated with. Mr. Brand offered to conclude a final peace with him on his paying three hundred horses, three thousand head of horned cattle, and fifteen thousand sheep, within fifteen days, and giving two of his sons or sub-chiefs as hostages for his good conduct. These terms, which must be viewed as remarkably lenient considering the part which the Baputi took in the raid into the Smithfield district, were rejected by Morosi. A day or two later he learned that the high commissioner declined to entertain his application. Some of his followers then fled to the reserve, but the chief himself with the greater number of his people retired to the rugged country near the sources of the Orange, and took no further part in the war.

The failure of the attempt to take Thaba Bosigo necessitated the raising of additional forces by the Free State. In a civilised community it is not possible under any circumstances for more than about one-fifteenth of the whole number of inhabitants to be employed at any one time in war beyond their own borders. Very few nations can put that proportion into the field, for it implies an almost total cessation of ordinary industries. The republic could not on

this basis send more than two thousand three hundred and fifty burghers into the Lesuto, and that number was insufficient, even if it could be kept up. In point of fact two thousand one hundred was the highest number ever attained during the war, and the army could not be kept longer than two months at that strength. The president therefore, as the only means of increasing his force, commissioned Messrs. Webster and Tainton, two competent and popular officers, to raise bodies of European and coloured volunteers. The Free State had no funds, and therefore the only pay that could be offered to the volunteers was such cattle as they could capture.

The high commissioner, however, regarded this method of raising an army with no favourable eye. The greatest difficulty that the colonial government had to contend with was the tendency of the Bantu tribes to appropriate that which did not belong to them, and here was a direct invitation to enter upon a career of fighting for booty. He had issued a proclamation of neutrality, which the imperial authorities had entirely approved of, and as it was evident that any volunteers must be British subjects, here was an invitation to restless spirits in the colony to set the government at defiance. On the 7th of November he addressed a letter of remonstrance to the president, and on the 28th of the same month he wrote in still stronger terms, threatening that if the practice was continued he would prohibit the supply of arms and ammunition to the Free State. The colonial officers on the frontier were directed to use the utmost vigilance to prevent infractions of the foreign enlistment act, and a reward of £50 was offered for the conviction of any one found recruiting in the colony.

From this time until the end of the year very little occurred that is worthy of notice. On the 1st of December General Fick after a sharp skirmish took possession of Leribe for the second time, when Molapo fled to Thaba Patsoa, a strong mountain about fifteen miles or twenty-four kilometres to the eastward, in the Maluti range. On

the 6th an engagement between the burghers, four hundred and fifty in number, and some three thousand Basuto, took place at Platberg, when General Fick lost three men and the Basuto lost fifty. Early in the month the chief Lebenya with his followers abandoned the Basuto cause, crossed over into the Wittebergen reserve, and claimed British protection.

The Basuto avoided meeting their opponents in force, but whenever an opportunity occurred of cutting off small parties they took advantage of it. They did not spare those of their own colour who were in service with the burghers. Thus, on one occasion about this time three Europeans and two blacks were surprised when gathering fuel, and were all murdered. On another occasion two white men, father and son, and two blacks, who ventured with waggons too near the Lesuto, were captured and were all put to death. In most instances the dead bodies were mutilated in a shocking manner. The Free State forces, on their part, were doing what they could to weaken their enemy by destroying the crops and picking up a few cattle here and there.

At this stage it will be well to relate the consequences of Ramanela's raid into Natal on the 27th of June, as that event can hardly be separated from the war.

After the murder of Pieter Pretorius's party, the followers of Ramanela descended the Drakensberg and entered a part of Natal where cattle kept on the highlands of the Harrismith district during the hot season were usually sent to graze in the winter months. A good many farmers were in fact residents of Natal at one season of the year, and of the Free State at another. The raiders seized two hundred and forty-eight horses, one thousand six hundred and nineteen head of horned cattle, one thousand seven hundred and seven sheep, and three hundred and seven goats, valued altogether, with the damage done to other property, at from £17,000 to £20,000. They wounded one white man, and killed three blacks.

The first rumours of this inroad which reached the government at Maritzburg were exaggerations of the real facts, and created unnecessary alarm. The volunteers of the colony were immediately called out, and with all the available troops were sent to Ladismith. The colonial secretary — Major Erskine, — and the secretary for native affairs — Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, — proceeded to the border to take measures for its defence, and the resident magistrate of Weenen was sent to Molapo to ask for redress. The volunteers on their way to the front detected a party of Basuto plundering a farm, but the marauders fled so hastily that they could not be overtaken.

On the 5th of July Molapo informed the representatives of the Natal government that Ramanela had acted in disobedience of positive orders; that the stolen stock was being collected by him for the purpose of being restored; that he, for his father and himself, was willing to pay compensation for damages; and also that, if required, he would try to deliver Ramanela for punishment. On the faith of these assurances the volunteers were permitted to return home, and Major Erskine went back to his duties at Maritzburg. The imperial troops, consisting of infantry and artillery, were left at Ladismith, and Mr. Shepstone with a few Cape mounted riflemen and a thousand Natal blacks formed a camp on the Basuto border.

Sir Percy Douglas, who then commanded the British troops in South Africa, was at the time in Maritzburg. He sent intelligence of the inroad overland to King-Williamstown, whence it was conveyed by telegraph to the high commissioner, who alone had authority to deal with independent chiefs. On receipt of the telegram Sir Philip Wodehouse sent to Moshesh, requiring him to restore the stolen stock instantly, to make reparation for the damage done, and to prohibit such acts in future. Moshesh replied that before the demand reached him he had begun to collect the cattle for the purpose of sending them back, and had given orders that anything missing should be replaced.

This letter ought to have proved to Sir Philip Wodehouse, if proof was still wanting, how utterly untrustworthy Moshesh's statements were. He had not done as he said. A few days before his letter was written, his son Molapo had returned thirty-nine horses, one hundred and sixty-one head of horned cattle, one hundred and ninety-four sheep, and forty goats, and had informed Mr. Shepstone that Moshesh and Letsie not only did not approve of the promises he had made, but that Moshesh had sent word that Ramanela would not be compelled to make restitution. Molapo believed that Letsie would be well pleased if the Natal forces were to enter his district, which was contiguous to the Natal border, and punish him for the acts of Ramanela, though that marauder was not in the least under his control. He offered to abandon his father and brother, and to place himself and his people under the protection and control of the Natal government. The high commissioner, however, would only deal with Moshesh as the head of the tribe.

The apparent impunity with which the inroad had been made was an encouragement to bands of robbers to make Natal a field of operations, and early in August a case of cattle-lifting on such a large scale occurred that by the government and the people it was commonly spoken of as a second raid. Moshesh in the mean time was dealing with the matter as if it was of little importance. Utterly regardless of truth, he wrote to Mr. Shepstone, as he had written to Sir Philip Wodehouse, that he had given orders to Ramanela to restore everything without delay.

After waiting two months, as the only cattle sent back were the few delivered by Molapo, the high commissioner concluded that it was necessary to make a more formal demand than he had hitherto done. He declined to take into consideration the expense which the Natal government had incurred, and resolved to call upon the Basuto to refund nothing more than the actual value of the property taken and destroyed. He believed that upon the estimate received from Natal ten thousand head of full-grown cattle would

suffice to cover this, and on the 26th of August he wrote to Moshesh calling upon him to give instructions for the immediate delivery to the officers of the Natal government of that number or an equivalent in sheep at the rate of five sheep for each bullock. This letter was forwarded from Aliwal North to Thaba Bosigo by a special messenger, Mr. William Reed.

Mr. Reed proceeded by way of Bloemfontein, where he found the president just leaving for the camp, and accompanied him to Thaba Bosigo. At the foot of the mountain he displayed an English flag, upon which Moshesh sent down for him, and he at once went up. Forty or fifty paces from the top the chief and his son Tsekelo met him, when Tsekelo read and interpreted his Excellency's letter. Mr. Reed was taken to a cave about fifty metres from the summit of the mountain, where he lodged for several days, until Moshesh was pleased to send him back with a reply, compelling him at the same time to avoid the Free State camp and to take a circuitous path through the Lesuto. The letter which he carried back was dated the 18th of September. In it Moshesh said, "The cattle stolen from the Natal territory have been restored to that government. I have already given myself and whole of my country into the hands of the Queen's government. Your Excellency may therefore consider the whole of the Basutoland under your jurisdiction, to deal with us, and the compensation demanded, according to your Excellency's discretion."

There was certainly a difficulty in dealing according to the ideas of Europeans with a man who could dictate such a letter as this. What the high commissioner did was to inform the chief that until the question of making good the damage caused by Ramanela was disposed of, he was precluded from entertaining proposals for closer union between the British government and the Basuto. He then directed Mr. Burnet to proceed to Thaba Bosigo and endeavour to induce Moshesh to issue positive instructions for the delivery of the cattle and the punishment of

Ramanela. The Natal government was requested to send commissioners to meet Mr. Burnet, and to receive any cattle that he might succeed in obtaining.

While these officers of the different governments were making their way to Thaba Bosigo, the old chief was dictating letters to Mr. Shepstone, at one time stating that his difficulty in sending the cattle was the presence of the Free State forces, and at another time that a drove was about to leave.

Mr. Burnet arrived at Thaba Bosigo on the 2nd of November. He found the sub-chiefs of Southern Basutoland willing to contribute towards making up the number of cattle demanded by the high commissioner, and at his request they collected about three thousand head. Moshesh himself gave nothing, and so far was he from being desirous of settling the matter that he actually selected the choicest cattle contributed by his vassals, and reserved them for himself. Mr. Burnet persuaded him to dictate an order to Molapo to punish Ramanela and to make up the deficiency of the cattle; but when the commissioner proceeded to Leribe with the order, the old chief sent to his son countermanding it. It was quite hopeless to expect anything like fair dealing from him, and Mr. Burnet came to the conclusion that the only satisfactory plan would be to negotiate directly with Letsie and Molapo.

These chiefs, like their father, were at this time entirely under the control of seers, diviners, and priests. Molapo was subject to fits of insanity, which the missionaries attributed to remorse for having abjured Christianity, but which Mr. Burnet attributed to over-indulgence in sensuality. They were both urgent to be taken under British protection. Their aims, however, were widely different. Molapo addressed himself to the government of Natal, and made no secret of his desire to be independent of his brother. Letsie addressed the high commissioner, and asked for protection in order that at his father's death he might remain the head of a tribe that must otherwise break into fragments.

After more than a month's exertion Mr. Burnet believed that he had got together between four and five thousand head of cattle. Messrs. Macfarlane and Uys, the Natal commissioners, had gone to Bloemfontein, and procured from the president a safe-conduct through Free State territory for the drove and one hundred Basuto herdsmen. Mr. Burnet then, having done all that he could, returned home and sent a full report of his proceedings to the high commissioner. Instead, however, of between four and five thousand head reaching Natal, only two thousand one hundred and forty-one were delivered to Mr. Ayliff, the officer selected to distribute them, the others having been detained by Moshesh for his own use after Mr. Burnet's departure.

From the first the Natal officers were convinced that nothing but force would cause the Basuto chief to make restitution, and they would long since have employed force if the high commissioner had not restrained them. On the 8th of January 1866 Sir Philip Wodehouse signed a document authorising the Natal government to send an armed expedition into the Lesuto to compel payment of the full demand; but before the mail left Capetown he received a letter from the lieutenant-governor enclosing a report from Mr. Ayliff, in which that officer stated that the cattle already received would suffice to compensate those from whom stock had been stolen to the extent of fifty per cent, and leave a few oxen over. Immediately on reading this, the high commissioner, only too glad to avoid proceeding to hostilities, cancelled the permission he had given, on the ground that his demand must have been excessive. After this date there was some further correspondence, but nothing more was ever paid by the Basuto, nor was Ramanela ever punished for his raid into Natal.

At the beginning of the year 1866 the Free State forces in the field were too weak to act on the offensive, and during the heat of midsummer it was impossible to increase them. The Basuto took advantage of this opportunity to

renew their inroads into the border districts. On the 8th of January the people of Molitsane made a sudden swoop upon the village of Winburg. They burned four houses in the outskirts, killed two Europeans and seven black herdsmen whom they surprised on the commonage, and swept off all the cattle belonging to the place. Only thirty-three burghers could be mustered to go in pursuit, but this little band overtook the Bataung, shot three of them, and recovered all the stock except about a hundred horses.

On the 22nd of January the village of Bethlehem was attacked by three or four thousand of Molapo's warriors. On the commonage they captured a burgher and a black servant and murdered both. But there happened to be in Bethlehem at the time a patrol under Commandant De Villiers, of whose presence the Basuto were ignorant. The commandant speedily mustered one hundred and twenty-five burghers and one hundred and fifty Batlokua, and with this puny force he drove back the assailants, followed them up some distance, and shot down more than two hundred of them.

The high commissioner, seeing no probability of a speedy termination of this wretched condition of affairs, and fearing that disorder would increase in the Cape Colony on account of it, at this juncture—20th of January 1866—wrote to President Brand, tendering his services for the negotiation of an equitable peace. While the combatants were opposing their full strength to each other he had deemed it unadvisable to interfere. In reply to a request of Moshesh that he would come and make peace, he had then written—25th of September 1865—that it was impracticable at that juncture to interpose between him and the Free State with propriety, or with any prospect of a good result to either party. But now to all outward appearances the republic was without an army and utterly helpless, while the Basuto seemed to be nothing better than a mob of cowards in the field and cut-throats when a victim could be secured.

The high commissioner believed that peace could not be permanent while the Free State and the Lesuto were alike

independent of control. War would probably be renewed, he wrote, after the lapse of a few years, when one of the parties might think itself strong enough to attempt the destruction of its neighbour. To prevent this, he proposed to the secretary of state for the colonies—13th of January 1866—that the Basuto, in accordance with the repeated requests of the chiefs, should be accepted as British subjects, and that an attempt should be made to govern them for their own good and for the common good of South Africa.

But the ink on these despatches was hardly dry when the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. President Brand had been making most forcible appeals to his people, and largely owing to his exertions, in the beginning of February the burghers again took the field in force. On this occasion two thousand men mustered under arms, and were divided into four distinct columns, under General J. I. J. Fick, and Commandants Cornelis de Villiers, Louis Wessels, and Pieter Wessels. Let it be remembered that if the same proportion of the population of the British islands were placed under arms in a foreign country, that army would muster two millions of men, and a good idea can be formed of the effort made by the Free State.

On the 5th of February the volksraad met. The members unanimously placed on record their approval of the action of the president in declaring war, and carried by a large majority a resolution ratifying the annexation to the state of the territory within the lines proclaimed by Messrs. Fick and Wepener and subsequently by the president. On the 7th a matter was brought forward which more than anything that preceded it damaged the Free State cause in the estimation of people in Europe. On that day numerous petitions were read, praying that the French missionaries should be expelled from the territory recently annexed.

There were ten stations in that territory, and whether the missionaries remained or not, they could have no reasonable expectation that Basuto communities would be permitted to gather there again, if the Europeans could prevent it. A

powerful nation can afford to be magnanimous with a puny opponent; but in a life or death struggle such as this, when the weaker combatant has been forced into war and conquers, prudence demands that every possible advantage be taken of the victory. The Free State would not have been acting as every nation in the world has acted since the dawn of history if it had not tried permanently to weaken its enemy in the only way in which it could be done. As a measure of safety, the mission stations on territory wrested from the Basuto must therefore have been doomed. But this was not sufficient reason for driving the French clergymen from their homes.

There was a general impression among the burghers that the missionaries acted as special pleaders for the Basuto, regardless altogether of the merits or demerits of their case, that they gave advice in military matters, that some of them took part in fighting, and that in consequence they were more hurtful as enemies than the Basuto themselves.

No impartial person who thoroughly examines the evidence that their writings afford will be able to acquit the missionaries as a body of being special pleaders, though even in this respect there were several of them on whom no imputation can in justice be cast. No one with ordinary power of discrimination will take mission reports to be faithful representations of the whole life or actions of a people. At best they only represent the life of a small section of such a tribe as the Basuto as seen from a standpoint very limited in range of view. The burghers were unreasonably incensed when they read letters from missionaries and reports in mission journals which pictured the Basuto as a very different people from what they knew them to be. They made no allowance for the position of the writers, nor regarded it as natural that their sympathy should be with the people among whom they lived and laboured. A single individual thrown among a mass of people of different sentiments usually comes to adopt their ideas. The action of the many minds affects the one

insensibly, unless the one is possessed of unusual individuality. This is particularly observable in the lives of missionaries in secluded situations, who have studied the languages of their pupils and have striven to find out the meanings of quaint expressions and the powers of barbarian thought. It is not surprising that such men become the champions of those among whom their lot is cast, that they expatiate upon their virtues and fail to see their vices: it would rather be surprising if it were not so.

To say that some of the missionaries acted injudiciously is only saying that they were men. That they gave advice in military matters is not proved, and as regards most of them is highly improbable. That they committed any overt act hostile to the Free State will not be believed or even suspected after a careful examination of all the evidence.

The discussion upon the memorials by the volksraad shows extreme ignorance in most of the members of public opinion in Europe. That the expulsion of the missionaries would cause an outcry in England against the Free State was not taken into consideration. The members even supposed that their statements would refute those of the missionaries everywhere, without the slightest recognition of the fact that hardly a dozen people in all Europe would hear their version of the case, while the missionaries commanded the most complete means for publishing their side of the story that the world has ever known.

The president spoke earnestly against any interference with men who had been trying to enlighten the heathen; but the majority of the volksraad held with the memorialists, and a resolution was carried that as the missionaries had not confined themselves to their calling but had taken part in political matters, and as their sympathy with the Basuto was in its operation detrimental to the Free State, all those in the annexed territory must remove before the 1st of March, and those who should desire to remain in the Free State must take up their residence at such places as the executive council should point out. Whatever property

they could not remove was to be respected. They were to be obliged to bind themselves in writing to have no correspondence directly or indirectly with any one in the Lesuto during the war, to do or undertake nothing against the safety or the interests of the Free State, and to see that nothing was so done by their households.

At the beginning of the war the Paris Evangelical Society had twelve principal stations, thirteen ordained clergymen, two medical missionaries, and two lay assistants. There were eighteen hundred church members, several thousands had been baptized, and the missionaries believed that about one-tenth of Moshesh's tribe was directly or indirectly under their influence.

The missionaries who were expelled from the scenes of their former labour were Mr. Daumas, of Mekuatling, Mr. Coillard, of Leribe, Mr. Mabille, of Morija, Mr. Dyke and Dr. Casalis, of Hermon, Mr. Germond, of Thabana Morena, Mr. Maeder, of Siloe, Messrs. S. and E. Rolland, of Poortje, Mr. Cochet, of Hebron, and Messrs. Ellenberger and Gossellin, of Bethesda, with their families forty-six individuals in all. Mr. Keck was permitted to remain at Mabolela, though within the annexed territory. On account of the destruction of the mission buildings, Dr. Lautre and his family were at the same time compelled to abandon the station at Thaba Bosigo, so that the French mission was for a time nearly broken up. Most of its members retired to Aliwal North.

A Roman Catholic mission had been established at Korokoro shortly before the outbreak of the war, but was not affected by the resolution of the volksraad. The Roman Catholic missionaries indeed were never suspected by the burghers of interference in political matters, and were therefore left unmolested.

On the 21st of February the volksraad took into consideration the high commissioner's offer to act as a mediator, and after a lengthy discussion, on the 22nd the following resolution was adopted:

"The volksraad instructs his Honour the state president to inform his Excellency that the government of this state has been compelled to wage the present war for the maintenance of violated rights, which had been recognised and accepted by the treaty of Aliwal North; that the volksraad, in the interests of religion, morality, and social progress, heartily desires the termination of the war, and eagerly longs for a peace which shall offer the guarantees of permanency; that the volksraad has learnt with a feeling of gratitude the benevolent offer of mediation by his Excellency, but entertains the conviction, grounded on an experience of many years, that the Basuto will not respect the stipulations of any treaty of peace, unless they be forced to the acceptance of such a treaty by the power of our arms, and unless they be driven to feel that the Free State is sufficiently powerful to cause the Basuto to perform the conditions of any treaty that may be concluded, and to compel them thereto, should need be, by force of arms; that this government has determined, and the people of the state are willing, to undergo any amount of sacrifice, and to prosecute the war until such a desirable object shall have been attained; for which reasons the volksraad considers the present juncture as not favourable for such a mediation, and feels to be not yet in a position to avail itself of the benevolent offer of his Excellency."

The next day was the twelfth anniversary of the state's independence. The members of the volksraad met at ten in the morning, not to transact business, but to listen to addresses from the chairman, the president, Mr. J. J. Venter, and Advocate Hamelberg, upon the blessings received from the Almighty, the difficulties overcome by the republic during its existence, the duty of the burghers, and the patriotism displayed by those who—like Wepener—had lost their lives in the service of their country. All spoke with hope and confidence that the war would soon be brought to an end by the submission of the Basuto. At the close of the addresses, Advocate Hamelberg presented a poem, which was adopted as the national anthem of the state. It had been set to music by a gentleman named Nicolai, and was sung on this occasion by a choir composed of several of the best male voices of Bloemfontein and a large number of ladies.

While the volksraad was deliberating, the burghers in the field were not idle. On the 19th of February Commandant

De Villiers with two hundred men defeated two thousand of Molapo's and Ramanela's warriors, killed sixty of them, and wounded a great number. On the 21st Mr. F. Senekal, who had been commandant-general in the war of 1858, was killed while leading a patrol belonging to this force.

On the 23rd of February the combined commandos of Messrs. Fick and De Villiers, consisting of the Winburg, Harrismith, and Kroonstad burghers, five hundred and forty-six in number, with sixty-one blacks as scouts, left their camp near Leribe with the intention of scouring the Drakensberg. They spent that night on the bank of the Orange river where there was no fuel to be had, without other shelter than their blankets, though heavy rain was falling with occasional showers of hail.

On the 24th they penetrated farther into the mountains, the rain still continuing with a cold north-west wind. On the 25th, 26th, and 27th they scoured the mountains, which rose in an endless succession of peaks and tables around them. They were over two thousand seven hundred and fifty metres or nine thousand feet above the level of the sea, and though the summer was not yet past and the heat on the plains from which they had come up was unpleasantly great, they were suffering severely from cold. A heavy mist filled the ravines, and at night rain fell in drizzling showers. Some of the burghers had never felt such chilling air before, and as their clothing and blankets were wet and there was no fuel of any kind to be obtained, they were undergoing great discomfort.

The 28th was a clear warm day. That night they spent on the very crown of the Drakensberg, where on one side the rich grasslands of Natal lay at a vast depth beneath them, and on the other side they could look down on a sea of cloud and mist covering the rugged belt of desolation which they had just passed through. They were above the rain and hail from which they had suffered so much, and on the mountain top they passed the night in excellent spirits, though they were weary and the air was cold.

At four in the morning of the 1st of March the burghers left their elevated sleeping place, and before noon they were again in the belt of rain and hail. On the 2nd while passing through a gorge under Thaba Patsoa their advance guard was attacked by about two thousand Basuto, whose chief object was to recover the droves of cattle which were being driven on behind. The Basuto, however, were speedily put to flight. In the afternoon the burghers reached the camp which they had left eight days before, without having lost one of their number or having one wounded. They brought in one hundred and eighty-four horses, two thousand seven hundred and twenty-two head of horned cattle, and three thousand five hundred sheep; and they had counted thirty bodies of Basuto whom they had killed.

This expedition brought Molapo to treat for peace. On the 4th of March two Basuto carrying a white flag came into General Fick's camp with a letter from that chief, in which he asked on what terms peace would be granted to himself and to the whole tribe. General Fick replied, referring him to the president. The messenger returned speedily with another letter, in which Molapo stated that he wished to conclude peace for himself independently of the remainder of the tribe. General Fick then offered an armistice of eight days, to give time to communicate with the president, on condition of one hundred and fifty slaughter oxen being furnished as provision for the commando. The chief replied, asking for a personal conference with the general halfway between the camp and his stronghold; but when on the morning of the 6th the general with twenty-five burghers went to the appointed place he was told that Molapo's captains were unwilling that he should venture away from the mountain. They requested that an officer might be sent to confer with him. Adjutant A. van den Bosch then went up into Molapo's retreat, which he found to be a natural stronghold so well fortified as to be impregnable

if held by men of courage. The chief agreed to the terms of the armistice, and the adjutant went back to the camp, taking with him Joel, Molapo's second son, as a hostage for the delivery of the cattle and for his father's good conduct.

The camp of Commandant Louis Wessels was at this time at Berea. Molapo had requested that he might be permitted to communicate with his father, and General Fick agreed to send his messengers to the camp at Berea at the same time that the despatches were forwarded to Bloemfontein. Commandant Wessels conducted the messengers to the foot of Thaba Bosigo, and a few hours afterwards they returned to his camp with Moshesh's son Sophonia, who asked if his father could not be included in the armistice granted by General Fick to Molapo. The commandant replied that if Moshesh would make written proposals he would take them into consideration. Moshesh then wrote that he wished to make peace on equal terms, to which he received for answer that if he desired to communicate with the president the commandant would agree to an armistice on condition of being supplied with one hundred slaughter cattle. The old chief tried to haggle, by sending down a drove of sixty-six cows and calves, but ultimately he complied with the terms proposed.

Letsie, on being informed of what was taking place elsewhere, also made overtures for an armistice, which Commandant Pieter Wessels granted upon payment of fifty slaughter oxen.

There was thus a general suspension of hostilities, which was only disturbed by a raid of the Bataung on Winburg commonage on the 5th of March, when they succeeded in driving off some stock; and a second raid by the same people in another direction five days later, when they were met by a party of burghers and driven back with a loss of nineteen killed.

The president was detained at Bloemfontein by business that could not be neglected, but the truce was prolonged

until he could get away. On the 21st of March he and the unofficial members of the executive council arrived at Commandant Louis Wessels' camp close to Thaba Bosigo. Moshesh was communicated with, but as he declined to make peace on any other than equal terms, the armistice with him was declared to be at an end. Letsie took up the same position as his father, in consequence of which hostilities were resumed on the 22nd, when a patrol was sent to scour Mohali's Hoek, and the cattle of the two southern commandos were turned into the cornfields of Letsie and Makwai to destroy them. Nehemiah, however, sought an interview with the president, stated his intention of abandoning the cause of his father and brother, and requested that he and his people should be received as Free State subjects. After a little consideration by the executive council, his request was acceded to, but his following was too small to make his pretended defection a matter of any importance.

The president and the three members of the executive council then proceeded to Imparani, where General Fick was encamped. By previous arrangement, on the morning of the 26th of March Molapo with all his counsellors and sub-chiefs arrived at the ford of the Caledon close to Imparani, where some tents had been pitched for their accommodation. There, immediately afterwards, a conference took place, which ended in a treaty between the Free State and Molapo.

Molapo agreed to the annexation to the Free State of all the land up to the Putiatsana, and promised to remove his people from that portion of it on the north and west of the Caledon. He undertook to pay two thousand head of large cattle, to abstain from assisting the other Basuto, and to give one of his sons and one of his sub-chiefs as hostages for his good conduct. He agreed to become a vassal of the Free State, retaining the district between the Caledon, the Putiatsana, and the Drakensberg, as a reserve in which to live; and he promised to obey any orders issued by the

president through a Free State officer who should be stationed with him.

A formal treaty to this effect was drawn up and signed by the president and by Molapo, his son Jonathan, and his counsellors, and was witnessed by the members of the executive council and the four officers of highest rank in the Free State camp. It is known as the treaty of Imparani. As soon as it was concluded Molapo paid the greater number of the cattle, and gave the stipulated hostages for his good conduct.

On the 29th of March a patrol of sixteen burghers and one hundred and fifty Batlokua, under command of Mr. Hendrik Oostewald Dreyer, having captured a large number of cattle in Witsi's Hoek, was returning with the spoil, when it was attacked about thirty-two kilometres or twenty miles from Harrismith. Mr. Dreyer and another burgher were killed, and some of the stock was retaken. Mr. Dreyer, who held the office of chairman of the volksraad, was a man of considerable attainments. A South African by birth, he had travelled in foreign lands, and spent some years in Australia. His body was found pierced with twenty-one assagai stabs.

About the same time an express carrying letters from the Cape Colony to Bloemfontein fell into the hands of a party of Basuto. It consisted of three burghers, two half-breeds, and two Barolong, all of whom were murdered in cold blood. Their bodies, shockingly mutilated, were found a few days afterwards.

On the last day of March a meeting of the sub-chiefs of Basutoland, convened by Moshesh, took place at Thaba Bosigo. The defection of Molapo, whether genuine or feigned, weakened the Basuto power seriously for the time being. The crops, which were now ready for harvesting, were being destroyed by the burghers. All of the sub-chiefs were therefore of opinion that if peace could be made in such a way that they could preserve their strength unimpaired until the crops were gathered and then be able to

resume hostilities at pleasure, it would be advisable for Moshesh to conclude it. The great chief thereupon wrote to the president making overtures for peace, and offering as a basis of negotiations to agree to the boundary line proclaimed by Messrs. Fick and Wepener and ratified by the volksraad. The president consented to negotiate on this basis, in the vain hope that he would be able to plant without any delay such a strong body of Europeans upon the land thus acquired that the predominance of the Free State would be in future undisputed and peace for ever be secured.

On the 3rd of April a conference took place between Thaba Bosigo and the camp of Commandant Louis Wessels. Moshesh himself was ill and unable to descend the mountain, but he gave full power to his brother Moperi and his son Nehemiah to act for him. The terms agreed to were, that the future boundary between the Free State and the Lesuto should be a line running direct from Bamboesplaats near Pampoenspruit to a point—Thaba Tele—three miles (4·8 kilometres) east of Letsie's new town—Matsieng,—thence a straight line due north—by compass—to the Caledon, thence the Caledon to the junction of the Putiatsana, and thence the Putiatsana to its source; that Moshesh should cause all his subjects immediately to withdraw from the territory beyond the new boundary, failing which the Free State should be at liberty to expel them by force; that Molapo and his people should be Free State subjects; that Moshesh should pay three thousand head of large cattle to the Free State; that Moshesh should in future deliver up refugee criminals on warrants from Free State officials; and that Moroko should be included in the treaty as an ally of the Free State.

The above conditions, and a few others of minor importance, having been embodied in a formal treaty, the document was signed in duplicate by the president and Moshesh's delegates. It was then sent up the mountain, where it received the mark and seal of Moshesh, the signatures of

Masupha, Sophonia, and several other sons of the chief, and the mark of Poshuli. Subsequently it was sent to Letsie, and received his mark. It was also signed by the unofficial members of the executive council of the Free State, by the principal officers in the Free State camp, and by Moroko's adopted son Tsepinare.

The burghers manifested the greatest joy when peace was concluded, no one foreseeing that within twelve months it would prove to be the greatest mistake that could be made by the Free State. The night following was one of festivity in the camp. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 4th the president mounted a waggon round which the whole commando was assembled. Baring his head, he requested the burghers to join in thanks to God, then he read the treaty, after which the whole assembly sang the hundredth psalm. And never in grand cathedral has the Te Deum been chanted with greater sincerity than that psalm of praise to God was sung under the open vault of heaven when the burghers of the Free State believed that peace was secured by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo.

CHAPTER LIX.

EVENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC FROM 1865 TO 1870.

THE history of the Orange Free State and that of the South African Republic are so intimately connected that it is impossible to give a complete view of one without frequent reference to the other. Had there been tranquillity in the northern republic, Moshesh would not have ventured to act as he did, but tranquillity there was well-nigh forgotten. The South African Republic was at this time engaged in a war almost as exhausting to the combatants as that between the Free State and Moshesh, and it was a war in which justice was not altogether on the side of the white man. The district of Zoutpansberg was the scene of the occurrences that must now be related.

This large district—the northern portion of the republic—in 1864 included the whole country enclosed by the Limpopo river, the Waterberg, and the Olifants river from the great bend where it turns to the east. It was as fair and fertile a land as any that the sun shines upon, with deep rich soil, abundantly watered, and covered with a thick carpet of the most nutritious grasses. Its scenery was diversified. In the north the mountain ranges * from which the district has its name crossed the country from side to side, in the east was a broken tract called from numerous caverns the Spelonken, and a great portion of the remaining area consisted of rolling plains. The climate was as varied as the scenery. In the open highlands the temperature on both sides of the tropic was agreeable to white men, and

* They were called Zoutpansbergen by the first explorers on account of several large saltpans having been found at their northern base.

a healthier country could not be desired; but in the deep forest-clad valleys, where the sugar cane and coffee plant thrive luxuriantly, the heat in summer was almost unbearable, and fever forbade the presence of Europeans. The wooded lands also in the northern parts of the district were then infested with the tsetse,* which prevented occupation by farmers.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, wave after wave of war rolled over this district, just as over the country farther south. The armies of Tshaka, Moselekatse, Sapusa, and Manikusa swept over it until there was nothing left to gather as spoil. Most of the inhabitants perished of hunger or by the assagai, and those that remained alive either fled westward to the desert or retired to secluded and almost inaccessible positions in the mountains.

When Commandant-General Hendrik Potgieter settled in the district, he found the open country uninhabited, and the few Bantu in the mountains only too glad to welcome the presence of Europeans, under whose protection they could live in safety. There was no purchase—or nominal purchase—of immense areas of land from some chief whose claim rested on conquest, as in the district of Lydenburg; but the white people simply took possession of the territory lying waste before them. As if it was the most natural thing in the world, the impoverished blacks admitted the superiority of the strangers without question or demur, and did not think of objecting to any arrangements that were made regarding them. Gradually they were brought under the same system as that which prevailed in the other districts. Reserves—often with boundaries ill-defined and thus open to encroachments—were set apart for their use, and there they were left entirely under their own laws and subject to the authority of their own chiefs. Such reserves, according to a resolution of the volksraad of the 28th of

* This destructive insect has since that time disappeared from the Zoutpansberg district, probably owing to the extermination of the antelopes and other game.

November 1853, were regarded by the government of the republic as loan places to be held by the occupants and their posterity during good behaviour. In some cases it was arranged that the residents on a location should furnish a fixed supply of labour, in others that the chief should pay a small tribute yearly, in others again it was agreed that during the peaceable and orderly conduct of the people nothing would be exacted.

The former inhabitants who had been dispersed now began to return, and many of them rallied round a chief of the Bavenda family named Mpofu, who acted identically the same part in the Zoutpansbergen as Sekwati has been described as acting in the mountainous region south of the Olifants river, and Moshesh in the Maluti and the valley of the Caledon. Upon Mpofu's death, two of his sons fought for the chieftainship, when the one countenanced by Commandant-General Potgieter — Ramapulana by name— obtained the succession.

Just as in the case of Moshesh, various little clans from a distance, and not belonging to the tribes previously inhabiting the country, resorted to the Zoutpansbergen and their neighbourhood as soon as there was a prospect of safety there. The whole of these did not become subjects of Ramapulana, though some of them were allied with him. It would create confusion to enter into detail concerning the history of all these clans, and only those who took a prominent part in the disturbances of 1865 and later years need be mentioned. There was one group that had rallied round a half-breed named Michiel Buys, whose father— Coenraad du Buis—was a notorious outlaw in the early years of the nineteenth century. Michiel and his elder brother Gabriel had long been employed to collect tribute from the Baramapulana and other clans as far as the Limpopo. Some years before the events now to be related Gabriel died of poison, and Michiel remained sole ruler of the retainers they had gathered about them. This party of refugees may be called for convenience Buys's people. Then there

were several clans of the Magwamba, or Knobnoses as they were termed by the Europeans from their custom of raising scars on their faces. These people were fragments of a coast tribe, and at this time were under the control of a man named João Albasini, whom they regarded as their chief. There were further two little semi-independent tribes of the Bavenda family under chiefs who took on their accession the dynastic titles of Tshivasa and Pafuri,* and the Bakwebo, who were distantly related to them, under the chieftainess Matshatshi.

In 1864 the white inhabitants of the district of Zoutpansberg were the most lawless of their colour in all South Africa. There were indeed many respectable well-behaved people residing on farms, but on the frontier there had assembled a large number of fugitives from justice, of almost every European nationality, as well as degraded off-shoots of old colonial families. These men, whose manner of living was in many respects even more savage than that of the blacks, were professedly traders and hunters, but did not scruple to follow the calling of robbers when there was any plunder within reach. In early days they had taken parties of blacks to the hunting fields with them, but recently they had contented themselves with sending these people to procure ivory and ostrich feathers while they remained at home in idleness. The blacks, thus entrusted with guns and ammunition, soon found that they could obtain from illicit traders very much more for the products of the chase than their employers were likely to pay them, and disposed in this way of the greater portion of the ivory, feathers, and skins obtained. For these they received guns and ammunition, until the clans to which they belonged became well armed. Then the hunters refused to restore the weapons to their European employers.

* Ramapulana, Tshivasa, and Pafuri were all decendants of the chief who was at the head of the Bavenda when the tribe settled south of the Limpopo about the beginning of the eighteenth century, but the two latter had become independent of the former, who was the heir in the great line.

The chief inland market of the ivory and feather trade was the village of Schoemansdal, called after Stephanus Schoeman, and situated on an open plain at the southern base of the Zoutpansberg range, about half a degree north of the tropic. It was the most distant outpost of the white man towards the heart of the continent, and from it as a base of operations hunting parties made their way to Lake Ngami and the banks of the Zambesi. The village had been founded some six years before the period at which we have now arrived. It was in a pleasant position, had a stream of excellent water running along each street, and was well adorned with orchards and gardens. The landdrost of the district of Zoutpansberg — at this time Mr. Jan Vercueil—held his court here, and there was a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed church—the reverend N. J. van Warmelo—resident in the village. A church and a parsonage had just been built, and a school for children had recently been established.

About thirty kilometres west of the village of Schoemansdal, in the location of the people under Michiel Buys, was the mission station of Goedgedacht, occupied by the reverend Mr. McKidd, an agent of the Dutch Reformed church in the Cape Colony. This mission was the first among the blacks of Zoutpansberg, and had not yet made any converts, though it has since been very successful. The missionary did not confine his attention to the blacks, but was endeavouring to bring about a reformation among the Europeans in his neighbourhood, who needed his exhortations quite as much as the others did. Shortly after this date, but while the occurrences about to be related were transpiring, Mr. McKidd died of fever, and was succeeded by the reverend Stephanus Hofmeyr.

A few kilometres east of Schoemansdal Mr. J. Albasini resided. He was largely engaged in the ivory trade, was the head of the refugee Magwamba, and held the offices of vice-consul for Portugal under the governor of Mozambique and superintendent of all the blacks in the

district of Zoutpansberg under the president of the South African Republic.

As the wealth and numerical strength of the blacks increased, the chiefs became impatient of restraint, and the tribe under Ramapulana took advantage of the civil strife in the republic to make itself practically independent. It had been treated in the same manner as all the other tribes and clans in the country, that is, it had been left to the government of its own chief without the slightest interference on the part of the European officials except in matters where white people were concerned.

For several years preceding 1864 the tribe was convulsed by a struggle for ascendency between two sons of Ramapulana, named Magadu and Tabana. In 1864 the old chief died, when Magadu, who was aided by the captains Katlakter, brother of Ramapulana, Tshivasa, Mazivemdela, Pago, and others of less note, accused Tabana of having caused his father's death by means of witchcraft. With all the forces that they could muster they fell upon him and his adherents, who were defeated and driven from their kraals. Tabana, with those of his followers who managed to escape, fled to Albasini, and claimed protection. His enemies requested that he should be surrendered to them, but Albasini, in his capacity as an official of the South African Republic, refused to do this, and gave Tabana a location where he was in safety. This event was the cause of the division of the Baramapulana into two sections, one of which, under Magadu, Katlakter, and other chiefs, was unfriendly to the Europeans; while the clan under Tabana was obedient to the republic.

There were thus many elements of discord in the district of Zoutpansberg. There was the refusal of the black hunters to give up guns committed to their charge, there was a bitter feeling on the part of the blacks towards the disorderly Europeans who had collected there and who plundered and insulted them without the slightest scruple, there were arms acquired from illicit traders in the hands of

Bantu clans who could not refrain from using them, and there was a violent tribal feud in which one party was protected by the European government. Under such circumstances any trifling event could produce a collision.

The immediate act that led to hostilities was the escape from custody of a petty captain named Monene. This man, who bore the character of being one of the most turbulent individuals in the district, was a refugee from the powerful coast tribe formerly under the chief Manikusa. For some misconduct, real or alleged, he had fled from his own people and taken refuge with the chieftainess Matshatshi, who resided in Zoutpansberg and was reputed to be the most successful rainmaker in the country. After a brief stay with Matshatshi, Monene committed some offence there also, for which he was obliged to flee. He then took refuge with Albasini, who gave him a location at Goedewensch, and made him headman of a party of refugee Knobnoses.

The tribe to which Monene originally belonged was called the Matshangana. It had its origin in the flight of a horde of people from the neighbourhood of St. Lucia Bay in the time of the Zulu conquests. In 1864 this tribe was under a chief named Umzila, and occupied the country east and north-east of the district of Zoutpansberg. It was—and always had been—absolutely independent of the South African Republic. Umzila himself had, however, once been a subject of the emigrant farmers. Early in 1858, a few months before the death of his father Manikusa, he quarrelled with one of his brothers, and was obliged to flee. He retired to Zoutpansberg, and sought protection from Albasini, by whom a location was given to him close to Ramapulana's kraals. While residing there, his father died, and his brother became head of the tribe. But hearing that his brother was not popular, in 1861 Umzila left Zoutpansberg and proceeded to Delagoa Bay, where he obtained such assistance from the Portuguese government as enabled him to defeat his rival and make himself chief of the Matshangana, though as a vassal of the authorities at Lourenço

Marques. It needed some time to establish himself firmly, but by the end of 1863 opposition to his authority had almost ceased.

Early in 1864 Umzila sent messengers to Albasini, to request that Monene with his wives and children should either be surrendered or be put to death. He threatened that in case his request was not complied with he would close the hunting grounds in and beyond his country, then the chief source of the supply of ivory. Before this request was made, Monene had lost favour with Albasini, and was giving a great deal of trouble by his turbulent conduct. He came to learn the object of Umzila's messengers, and fearing for his life, he fled to Commandant Frederik Geyser, to whom he stated that Albasini was plotting to kill him. The commandant sent him to the farm of Mr. Jacob de Couto to be provided for, and summoned Albasini to appear before the landdrost at Schoemansdal — Mr. Jan Vercueil—on the 7th of April. Monene was directed to be present at the same time, with his witnesses. Albasini refused to obey the summons, and asserted that in matters relating to black people his office of superintendent was superior to that of either a commandant or a landdrost, so that he held himself accountable only to the executive council of the republic. There was no power to compel his attendance, and the matter was allowed to rest until the president should visit Zoutpansberg, Monene in the mean time remaining at De Couto's farm.

In July 1864 President Pretorius visited the district, and as a temporary measure gave Monene a location close to Schoemansdal, placing him under the supervision of the landdrost Vercueil. Some months after this, Albasini entered a complaint against Monene, who was thereupon arrested and given in charge of Fieldcornet Stephanus van Rensburg. On the 28th of March 1865 he escaped from custody, and took refuge first with Magadu, next with Pago, and then with Tshivasa. As soon as Albasini heard that Monene had escaped, he called together a large party of Knobnoses, and

sent them to search for the fugitive. In doing so, they committed great atrocities at several kraals. One petty captain, named Magoro, who had long refused to pay tribute, was surprised by the Knobnoses. A message was sent assuring him of safety if he would pay the amount overdue. Magoro accordingly delivered between two and three hundred head of cattle, when some dispute arose, and he was made prisoner. That night he was murdered, his kraal was destroyed, and his women and children were seized.

On the 1st of April a party of white men—the roughest and most lawless characters in the district—assembled under Commandant Stephanus Venter to search for Monene, and on the 7th, having ascertained that Pago had given him shelter, they attacked that captain at Pisangkop, killed about ninety of his people, and drove off one hundred and seventy head of horned cattle and two hundred and fifty sheep and goats, besides taking away a number of women and children.

Magadu, Katlakter, and other captains then commenced to plunder the farms in their neighbourhood, and the white inhabitants of the northern part of the district went into lager as speedily as possible.

On the 25th of July a commando attacked Katlakter, who was giving shelter to the blacks that refused to surrender the guns of their employers. It did not succeed in capturing his kraal, however, and upon its failure the insurrection spread. The missionaries now found it necessary to abandon the station of Goedgedacht, and retire to another part of the district less exposed to danger. The buildings were shortly afterwards destroyed by Katlakter's people.

Before the return of the expedition against Moshesh, of which a relation was given in the preceding chapter, no attempt was made by the government to suppress these disturbances. In November 1865 President Pretorius and Commandant-General Kruger visited Zoutspansberg, and endeavoured to restore concord without having recourse to arms. They found the white inhabitants in lager, and

learned that a great deal of property had been lost, that thirty-eight farm houses and eight houses in the outskirts of the village of Schoemansdal had been burnt, and that business and farming occupations of all kinds except tending cattle had ceased. Upon investigation, they ascertained that the conduct of the lawless Europeans on the border could not be justified, but they had no means of punishing the guilty persons. There was no police force whatever, and no money to pay one. The president and commandant-general did their utmost to persuade all parties, white and black, to resume friendly intercourse, and having done this, they returned to the seat of government.

Every burgher throughout the republic who was liable to military duty, except those who had been in the commando against Moshesh, was now warned to hold himself in readiness to proceed to Zoutpansberg whenever called upon. The feeling displayed was, however, so strongly averse to war with the Baramapulana, that it was at once evident the attempt to raise a strong force would be a failure. With the quarrels of the clans among themselves, said the burghers, they would have nothing to do, as they did not feel it their calling to waste their blood and means in helping one captain to resist another when the interests of Europeans were in no way involved. Was not the condition of Natal—with its fertile lands now lost to the white man —said they, sufficient warning against the inexpedience of attempting to shelter every refugee? And why should they go to the assistance of lawless whites who had brought trouble upon themselves by reckless and criminal acts? Language such as this was generally used in the southern districts of the republic, and although the government declared that its object was not to make war upon the blacks, but to enforce order on blacks and whites alike, no inclination was shown to take up arms. Nothing therefore could be done to restore tranquillity at Zoutpansberg.

On the 19th of February 1866 the volksraad met in session at Potchefstroom. It resolved to send a commission

of inquiry to the seat of disturbances, to enforce order by means of a commando, and by the same means to support the courts of law in punishing wrong-doers there. But the financial condition of the country was such that these resolutions could not be carried into effect. In addition to the issue of paper money in the previous year, there were a number of outstanding notes of hand issued by the government to meet the most pressing wants, there were salaries of officials in arrear, and there was nothing in the treasury. Additional taxation was considered impossible. To redeem the outstanding paper and defray current expenses, the volksraad resolved to issue notes of 2s. 6d., 5s., and 20s., to the amount of £12,000, the notes — though bearing no interest—to be a legal tender for ten years; and as security for the redemption of the amount they set apart two hundred and forty-five farms. As the paper previously issued was not current at more than half its nominal value, the volksraad passed a resolution that any licensed dealer who should refuse to receive the new notes as equal to gold or silver should lose his license.

In June the government called out a commando of twelve hundred men, but did not succeed in obtaining even half that number. The commandant-general was ill and unable to lead the force, but the president went with it. It accomplished nothing whatever, and was disbanded within a month. But now the hostile clans began to quarrel among themselves, and the Europeans in the lagers were relieved from fear of attack. It was not possible, however, to occupy the abandoned farms or to fit out hunting expeditions, so that the white people remained in a condition of poverty and discomfort.

In the early months of 1867 the clans suspended their internal dissensions, and attacked the Europeans again. The president hereupon called out a commando of two thousand men to assemble at the end of May, and summoned the volksraad to meet in extraordinary session. The members came together on the 15th of May. The

president, in his opening address, informed them that he was helpless for want of money. The £12,000 in notes issued in 1866 had been insufficient to do more than pay the most pressing debts, and the old mandates were still unredeemed. During a session of twelve days, the volksraad could devise nothing better than another issue of notes secured by public lands, to the amount of £20,000, to redeem the mandates and meet the expenses of the commando. In such pecuniary distress was the republic at the time that a large quantity of ammunition brought from Europe in 1866 by Mr. McCorkindale, and delivered at the port of Durban by arrangement with the government in part payment for the land sold to him, could not be brought from the seacoast to Pretoria for want of money to meet the transport charges.

Instead of two thousand men answering the call to arms, only five hundred mustered on the day appointed; and with this small force, ill supplied with material of war, Commandant-General Kruger marched to Zoutpansberg. The captain Katlakter had recently made several pillaging excursions, so the commando moved against him. But his mountain fortress was too strong to be carried by so small an army, and therefore after some skirmishing the burghers fell back to the village of Schoemansdal. Here Mr. Kruger received trustworthy information that Mapela, the head of a band of refugees from the eastern coast, and other chiefs living near Makapan's Poort on the southern border of the district were ready to rise upon his receiving further reverses. He accordingly appealed to the country to support him with fifteen hundred men and a sufficient quantity of ammunition, and announced that without this aid he could not restore order. His appeal fell upon deaf ears, and he was left to do the best that he could with his puny commando.

At the same time that an armed force was called out, a court of three combined landdrosts was directed to punish European wrong-doers in the district of Zoutpansberg.

Before this court Commandant Stephanus Venter and Field-cornet J. H. du Plessis were charged with seizing cattle belonging to the captain Pago in April 1865, and illegally detaining them. On the 27th of June the jury found the accused persons guilty, and the court proceeded to sentence them. Du Plessis was ordered to restore three hundred head of cattle to the people of Pago, and to pay a fine of £500. As soon as the sentence was pronounced, there was a disturbance in the court-room: an unruly mob took possession of the place, set the landdrosts at defiance, and rescued the men who had been found guilty.

When this lawless proceeding was reported to Commandant-General Kruger, he abandoned all hope of restoring order, and acting by resolution of the council of war he withdrew from Schoemansdal. He considered the position of the village extremely bad from a military point of view. In his opinion, it was always at the mercy of the insurgents, as the stream from which its water was derived came from the mountain held by them, and they were well acquainted with the art of poisoning water to kill game. The respectable people of the village left with the commando, and the unruly characters were obliged to follow. Schoemansdal remained without inhabitants. The former residents saved nothing except what they could carry away. The reverend Mr. Van Warmelo took with him the doors and windows of the church, but otherwise the buildings were undamaged. Shortly afterwards Katlakter's people came down from the mountain, set the houses on fire, and reduced the whole to a heap of ruins.

Commandant-General Kruger retired to Malitsi's country, fifty-eight kilometres distant, where he formed a camp, so as to enable any Europeans who might still be in the neighbourhood of the mountains to withdraw and join him. From this place he retreated by way of Makapan's Poort, where he stationed a guard of forty-five men to protect the little village of Potgieter's Rust, and he then disbanded the commando.

The landdrost of the district, the clergyman, and some of the other inhabitants took up their residence at Marabastad, a hamlet about a hundred and twelve kilometres or seventy miles south-west of Schoemansdal. This place was then the property of only four individuals, and its situation was not a good one. Mr. Van Warmelo decided that it would be useless to attempt to put up a church there, so it was only regarded as a place of temporary refuge.

The abandonment of Schoemansdal and with it a considerable portion of the district of Zoutpansberg was regarded by President Pretorius as the greatest disaster the republic had ever sustained. He made a despairing appeal to the country for volunteers to recover the lost ground, and hurried from village to village to urge the people to render assistance. Stephanus Schoeman — the same man who had taken a prominent part in the civil wars, but who was as brave as he was turbulent — was appointed commandant of volunteers. Notwithstanding the efforts made by the president, only fifty-three men offered their services. At the head of these, in October Schoeman visited Zoutpansberg to ascertain the exact condition of affairs.

At Potgieter's Rust he learned that Makapan had risen. A party of that captain's people had surrounded a patrol of six burghers on an open plain, but had been beaten off with a loss of sixteen killed. Makapan had then gone to Mapela's mountain, and was living there under that chief's protection. From Potgieter's Rust the volunteers pushed on to the burnt village of Schoemansdal. There a meeting took place of the Europeans of the nearest lager, the captains of the blacks who professed to be fighting on the white man's side, and the volunteers. Mapela sent some of his counsellors, who delivered a message to the effect that he wished to remain at peace and was therefore sitting still. Schoeman replied that the Europeans considered him responsible for the damage done by Makapan and another insurgent named Kalikali, inasmuch as he had given these captains and their followers shelter.

At the meeting it was decided not to attack the powerful chiefs Magadu and Katlakter, but to endeavour to do as much damage as possible to Matshatshi, Tshivasa, and other heads of petty clans. The force under Schoeman's command was too weak, however, to do anything of consequence, and after a little skirmishing it fell back to Marabastad, where on the 23rd of December the volunteers were disbanded.

In all the exposed parts of the district the farms were at this time abandoned, and their owners were in lager. There were three great camps: one in the north, another at Marabastad, and a third at Potgieter's Rust.

In January 1868 President Pretorius called out a commando of a thousand men, to assemble on the 20th of February; and announced that if they did not respond to the order the district must be entirely abandoned. About two hundred and sixty mustered on the day appointed. With these Commandant-General Kruger proceeded to Makapan's Poort to ascertain the condition of affairs. Mapela still professed to be loyal, but all the petty chiefs in that neighbourhood were in arms. Mapela had a following of at least five thousand warriors, and occupied a position of great natural strength. Mr. Kruger was determined that he should take an active part on one side or the other, and therefore called upon him as a vassal of the republic to furnish a certain number of slaughter oxen for the use of the commando in the field. As anticipated, the chief then showed his true colours, and instead of sending the oxen he declared war.

Upon this Mr. Kruger sent a report to the president, urging the necessity of proclaiming martial law throughout the republic, requiring every man who could bear arms to take the field, and obtaining by any sacrifice an adequate supply of munitions of war. As he could do nothing with the little force under his orders, he placed a guard of sixty men at Potgieter's Rust, and returned to Pretoria to urge the volksraad, which was then in session, to adopt decisive measures.

The distress and poverty of the Europeans in the lagers had in the mean time so greatly increased that on the 14th of March the reverend N. J. van Warmelo and Mr. R. A. van Nispen—who had succeeded Vercueil as landdrost—published from Marabastad an appeal to charitable persons everywhere to assist in obtaining clothing for the women and children, who were nearly naked.

The volksraad debated earnestly on the pecuniary condition of the country. The last issue of notes had been insufficient to meet expenses, and £1,230 more had been created than had been authorised. Notwithstanding the stringent laws making the notes a legal tender, their purchasing power was then only thirty per cent of that of gold; but there was no other resource, and a fresh issue was resolved upon. Paper money to the nominal value of £45,000 was created on this occasion, a portion of which was to be used to redeem all previous issues except that of 1867. The public debt, as represented by this paper, was thus increased to £65,000. As security for the whole debt, one thousand farms — equal to three million morgen of land —were set apart, with a proviso that one hundred should be sold by public auction every year with a reserve of £100 on each, and the proceeds be employed to redeem the notes until all were destroyed.

By this measure a scanty supply of ammunition was obtained, and at the end of May between eight and nine hundred burghers took the field, assisted by a large band of loyal blacks. On the 13th of June Commandant-General Kruger attacked Mapela's mountain, and made himself master of every portion of it except one very strong position on which the chief's principal kraal was built. In the attack two burghers were killed and eleven were wounded, but it was computed that Mapela's loss was at least three hundred warriors killed, besides about two thousand head of horned cattle, three hundred sheep and goats, and twelve guns seized by Kruger's commando. Two days later another attack was made upon the stronghold, and the kraal was

partly burnt, but was not wholly occupied or destroyed. A number of women and children were made prisoners, and were detained in order to bring the insurgents to terms.

At this juncture intelligence was received from the north that an old feud had broken out between the most powerful of the clans in the Zoutpansberg range, that they were fighting with each other, and that Umzila, chief of the great Matshangana tribe, was preparing to attack them all. The burghers on commando could wish for nothing better. Their supply of ammunition was already beginning to run short, so after an attack upon Matshem, a chief who was assisting Mapela, and some skirmishing with other clans in the neighbourhood of Makapan's Poort, in which hardly any damage was done, they dispersed to their homes.

In July President Pretorius visited Zoutpansberg. Dissensions were prevailing among the clans in the mountains, and though Umzila had not yet attacked them, many of the captains professed a desire to arrange matters so that they could again live in peace. On the 21st of the month there was a meeting at the farm Welgevonden, when Tabana with his people, the Knobnoses who had formerly been subject to the superintendent Albasini, the adherents of Buys, and some others had a conference with the president and the landdrost Van Nispen. The president announced that Mr. Stephanus Schoeman had been appointed diplomatic agent in the district, and that Mr. Albasini was no longer in the service of the government. At this they expressed much gratification, and promised to be obedient to Mr. Schoeman. Messages expressing a desire for peace and offering to pay tribute again were received from several of the mountain chiefs, and friendly replies were returned. Several of the chiefs then visited Mr. Pretorius, when assurances of friendship were exchanged.

The president left Mr. Schoeman to conclude the arrangements. By his efforts a condition of comparative tranquillity was restored, which enabled many of the farmers to return to their former homes and resume their occupation of breeding cattle. But the absolute supremacy of the republican

government over all the clans was by no means re-established, and in several instances farmers thereafter were obliged to pay tribute to the nearest chief to secure their property from plunder. The law could only be enforced by moral means, and there was no power to punish those who disobeyed it, whether black or white, or to compel those to pay tribute who did not choose to do so.

In November Mapela and his neighbour Matshem sent messengers to Pretoria to request the government to make a formal peace with them similar to that made with the chiefs on the other side of the district. This was not then acceded to, but in February 1869 terms were arranged. Mapela was required to surrender all the cattle captured by his people, and Matshem was obliged to leave his mountain and reside on a plain. They were also to furnish a number of labourers to assist in rebuilding some houses destroyed at Potgieter's Rust. Their women and children were then restored to them.

Between the black and white inhabitants of Zoutpansberg there was now a general peace, but the clans in the mountains were engaged in strife among themselves. In March 1869 Pafuri and Lemondo fell upon Tshivasa, and at the same time Magadu attacked Katlakter. In April Umzila sent an army of five thousand warriors into the district, and plundered the kraals of Lemondo and other captains. Still greater troubles awaited the Baramapulana. The chief of the Swazis sent an army of sixteen hundred men against them, before whom twenty thousand of their warriors would not have dared to stand on an open plain. The Swazis were joined by Tabana's people, and at midnight on the 18th of October 1869 one of Magadu's largest kraals was attacked. The position was a strong one, but a little before noon the Swazis carried it, when a dreadful slaughter took place, neither woman nor child being spared. Other kraals belonging to Magadu were then attacked and destroyed, but the one in which he resided was not taken, though the

parties that tried to storm it suffered heavy losses.* The conquerors next marched against Pago and Tshivasa, and created great havoc with the people of those captains. The Swazis then returned to their own country.

In 1868 the government caused Albasini and the former landdrost Vercueil to be prosecuted for the part they had taken in the war. No expense was spared in conveying witnesses and sifting the matter to the bottom, though the finances of the country were in a deplorable state, for the authorities and the respectable inhabitants were determined to show that no abuses that could be prevented would be tolerated. The proceedings brought to light what has been here stated, and the defendants only escaped punishment through some technical defects in the form of the indictment.

Early in 1870 fever made its appearance at Potgieter's Rust. The hamlet had been ten years in existence, and had previously enjoyed the reputation of being a remarkably healthy place. By April eighty-one out of the ninety-three European inhabitants were either dead or ill, and in May the hamlet was abandoned by all the survivors. In the entire district of Zoutpansberg the only village left was Marabastad, where the landdrost was stationed.

Potgieter's Rust was scarcely abandoned when Makapan and Kalikali fell upon some little kraals close by, and rooted them out. In a very short time the same scenes were being enacted there as in the mountains farther north.

The Europeans took no part in these quarrels, but let the clans fight their own battles. Neither side molested them, and they believed it to be their true policy to avoid interference as long as they were not assailed.

While these events were taking place in the north of the republic, there were transactions with tribes in other directions, which remain to be related.

* Magadu remained in a condition of practical independence of the republic until his death in September 1895. The tribe was conquered in 1899 by a force under Commandant-General Pieter Joubert.

When the commando under Mr. Kruger retired from the Lesuto in October 1865, no agreement of peace had been concluded. In the treaty of Thaba Bosigo no mention was made of the South African Republic, an omission which gave a good deal of offence to the government at Pretoria, as the president and the executive council maintained that their state ought to derive some benefit from the land taken from the Basuto. In November 1866 Moshesh, who was then preparing for another rupture with the Free State, caused a letter to be written to President Pretorius, asking that a formal agreement of peace might be made between them. He stated that he greatly regretted the murders that had been committed by his people in June 1865; but they were done in mistake, and he thought that the blood which had since been spilt and the losses inflicted on his people were sufficient to compensate for that crime.

The government at Pretoria, involved in difficulties in other directions and willing to retort upon the Free State for the fancied injury sustained by their exclusion from the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, thereupon sent Messrs. M. J. Viljoen and P. W. Pretorius as an embassy to treat with Moshesh. On the 20th of February 1867 there was a general meeting of chiefs and leading men at Thaba Bosigo, when the embassy stated their willingness to conclude peace, if the Basuto would pay £1,580 in money or eight hundred head of horned cattle to the heirs of the persons murdered by Ramanela. After much discussion, on the 21st this demand was reduced to forty good oxen and fifteen horses, which the assembled chiefs agreed to pay.

On the 25th of February 1867 a formal agreement of peace and friendship was signed by Messrs. Viljoen and Pretorius on the one part, and by Moshesh, Letsie, Masupha, and Moperi on the other. Moshesh promised that the oxen and horses would be delivered in a day or two. The manner in which he kept his engagement was one of the most ludicrous circumstances in connection with his history. The embassy waited until the 1st of March, and then, as

no cattle had been delivered, they left for their homes. On the 2nd they were overtaken by a messenger from Moshesh, who tendered one wretchedly poor old horse, and delivered a letter from the great chief announcing that four more horses and twelve head of horned cattle were on the way. The embassy did not wait to see what description of cattle these were, but proceeded on their journey, and there the matter ended.

There is not very much to relate concerning transactions with the Zulu chiefs Panda and Ketshwayo in reference to the Utrecht boundary. In a preceding chapter this subject was brought down to 1865, when both Panda and Ketshwayo admitted that the line between the Buffalo and Pongolo rivers had been made with their sanction, but when Panda desired that it might be altered so as to restore to Zululand some ground at the northern end, and when Ketshwayo had resolved to recover the whole territory between it and the old Utrecht border, because the compensation received—the surrender of his brother—had been lost by him.

In July 1866 President Pretorius sent a commission—of which Mr. A. A. O'Reilly, landdrost of Wakkerstroom, was chairman—to confer with Panda concerning the alterations in the line which he desired to have made, to induce the chief to remove a few Zulus who were living on the ceded ground, and to inquire about some encroachments on the northern bank of the Pongolo. This last subject, which in later years came into great prominence, was a new difficulty. The boundary between the Zulus and the Swazis was the Pongolo river. The former claimed the latter as vassals, but the claim was ignored by the Swazis, who had never been conquered. In 1855 the Swazis ceded to the South African Republic a narrow strip of land along the northern bank of the Pongolo as far down as the Lebombo mountains, purposely to get a body of white men between them and the Zulus, and now, ten years after the event, Ketshwayo began to question their right to do so. In 1865 some

parties of Zulus, by Ketshwayo's orders, crossed the Pongolo, and made their kraals on its northern bank.

Mr. O'Reilly and his fellow commissioners reached Nodwengo on the 27th of August. They obtained from Panda an explanation of the change which he desired in the boundary line, but were unable to settle either of the other matters, as the old chief, under various pretences, avoided their discussion.

As soon as he could conveniently spare the time, President Pretorius proceeded to have the line altered so as to meet Panda's wishes, and it was now supposed that this matter was finally settled to the satisfaction of all parties. Ketshwayo, however, still regarded the ceded territory as his by right, and his views in the matter were of course held by his people.

In December 1866 forty-three farms had been inspected and allotted to applicants between the old and new boundaries, and on the 8th of June 1869 the volksraad directed the president to cause the remainder of the ground there to be disposed of. But when this came to Panda's knowledge, he sent Gebula to Utrecht with two hundred and forty head of horned cattle to buy it back again. The government of the republic declined to sell it, and sent a commission—with Commandant-General Kruger as chairman — to confer with Panda about it. The commission arrived at Nodwengo on the 11th of February 1870, and found the old chief so ill that he could not rise from his mat. He admitted that the line had been made with his concurrence, but the commission found the Zulu sub-chiefs and people everywhere so opposed to the occupation of the ceded ground by Europeans, that they advised the government to postpone giving it out in farms.

In the mean time the matter had been a subject of correspondence between the lieutenant-governor of Natal and President Pretorius. Ketshwayo had represented to the secretary for native affairs in Natal that the people of Utrecht were encroaching upon Zululand, and he had even offered

to cede to Great Britain the ground which he was trying to recover. The lieutenant-governor, believing that hostilities were imminent, tendered his services as an arbitrator. On the 30th of October 1869 President Pretorius replied that the government of the South African Republic accepted with thanks his Excellency's offer to arbitrate, provided that the losing party should pay all the costs. But various obstacles intervened, and nothing further was done in the matter for several years.

The attitude of Ketshwayo during this time was professedly friendly, but his white neighbours were fully aware that he was not to be trusted. Before the publication in 1878 of his messages to the Natal government, they did not indeed know how skilfully he was playing Natal against the South African Republic; but they knew that he was gifted with great intelligence, and that he was crafty and cruel in a very high degree. They knew also the full extent of his power. They were aware that all the interior tribes in South Africa combined—all the people of Moshesh, of Magadu and his associates, and of Sekukuni, who on the 20th of September 1861 had succeeded his father Sekwati as head of the Bapedi—could not stand in fair fight in open field against half of his trained regiments; yet they feared an encounter with him less than with any one of those. The conditions of warfare would be entirely reversed. The interior tribes—fighting only behind stone walls in almost inaccessible positions, swooping down upon lonely farm houses, and plundering and murdering where no opposition could be offered—could wear out the patience and the strength of a burgher commando; but the Zulu army would be met in a few desperate engagements, when the farmers would take good care to be well intrenched, and the issue would not be doubtful.

Statements that for some years before 1878 the South African Republic was in imminent peril of being invaded by the Zulus, that in such a case the Europeans would certainly have been exterminated, and that Ketshwayo was

only kept in restraint by the influence of the government of Natal, were so often written and repeated in England that they were for many years accepted there as incontrovertible truths; but the farmers of the South African Republic always thought very differently. They, at any rate, never feared the result of a Zulu invasion, nor admitted that the influence of the Natal government with Ketshwayo was greater than their own. To each he professed warm attachment, and in both cases with an entire absence of sincerity. By representatives of each he was formally installed as great chief of the Zulus, but he and his people in reality attached not the slightest value to either ceremony.

In connection with the Zulus an interesting event took place on the 16th of December 1866. A great number of Europeans assembled on the farm of Jan de Jager, on the Blood river, where Dingan's army was defeated by Commandant-General Andries Pretorius twenty-eight years before. Religious services were held, after which a heap of stones was erected in the centre of the site occupied by the lager on the 16th of December 1838, as a memorial of the great victory. A good many Zulus were present on the occasion, and messages of friendship were interchanged with Ketshwayo, who declared himself "of the same house as the Boers."

Another interesting event that brought the pioneers to remembrance took place in August 1867. The Swazi chief Litonga sent to Commandant P. J. Coetzer, of Lydenburg, a white man and woman, with their two children, who were in all their habits like the blacks. The man and woman were the sole survivors of Rensburg's party mentioned in a preceding chapter, and had been living with the Magwamba from early childhood. They did not know the names of their parents or their own. The man was called Tshaka by the blacks. From the Magwamba they had been transferred to the Swazis, but by all had been treated as beings of a superior order. They had never done any work, the chiefs having caused gardens to be cultivated for them.

Subscriptions were raised to provide clothing and proper maintenance for these people, and they were placed with the reverend Mr. Nachtigal, of the Berlin mission, to receive such instruction as could be imparted to them. The woman proved an apt scholar and readily adapted herself to civilised habits, but for a long time the man preferred the society and the ways of the people with whom he had so long been associated.

There were at this time some dealings with clans of the Barolong and Batlapin, but they will be found recorded in another chapter, and need not be referred to here.

For some years there had been a dispute between the governments of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic concerning the boundary between them. Various attempts had been made to settle it, but all without success. At last, in January 1867, the two presidents and commissions from both states met on the disputed ground, when it was ascertained that neither party was prepared to give way, and the two governments then resolved to refer the matter to the decision of Mr. Robert William Keate, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor of Natal, but who had not yet arrived in South Africa, and who could not therefore be prejudiced in any way. Mr. Keate, who reached Natal on the 23rd of May 1867, consented to act as arbitrator; but some delay took place, and the deed of submission was only signed on the 13th of October 1869.

On the 14th of January 1870 commissions from both republics met the lieutenant-governor at Harrismith. With Mr. Keate were Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, secretary for native affairs in Natal, Dr. Sutherland, surveyor-general of that colony, Mr. Melmoth Osborne, resident magistrate of Newcastle, and Mr. R. H. Erskine, private secretary. The commission of the South African Republic consisted of President Pretorius, Commandant-General Kruger, B. C. E. Proes, LL.D., state secretary, Messrs. J. R. Lys and P. J. Joubert, members of the volksraad, and Mr. A. A. O'Reilly, landdrost of Wakkerstroom. The Free State commission

consisted of President Brand, Messrs. J. J. Venter, C. J. de Villiers, and T. F. Dreyer, members of the volksraad, and Mr. F. McCabe, landdrost of Bloemfontein.

The Free State commission claimed as the boundary the Likwa spruit, the most northerly source of the Vaal. They maintained that the Sovereignty government had exercised jurisdiction up to that stream, that the Bantu clans in the neighbourhood had always regarded the Likwa as the source of the Vaal, that it was so laid down on the best maps, and that as it was the true Vaal river they were entitled to the land up to it by the convention of the 17th of January 1852.

The commission of the South African Republic claimed the Klip river as the boundary. They maintained that in June 1854 it was decided by Messrs. Bester and Wessels, as commissioners of the Orange Free State, with the approval of the government of the South African Republic, that this stream should be the boundary; and that this was reported to the government of the Orange Free State, and was tacitly approved. They further contended that the Vaal river had its true sources in the tributary streams of the Wilge, Molen, Cornelis, Klip, and others rising in the Drakensberg. They maintained that the Likwa could not be the source of the Vaal river as contemplated in the convention of 1852, as it does not take its rise in that part of the Drakensberg which is mentioned in the convention.

To the South African Republic the question was of greater importance than to the Orange Free State, as not only was the district of Wakkerstroom—which was enclosed by the Likwa and the Klip—at stake, but if the Likwa was decided to be the boundary, the district of Utrecht would be cut off from the remainder of the country, and there would be no direct access to Natal.

Documentary evidence on both sides was submitted, after which the country between the sources of the two streams was examined by Dr. Sutherland and some members of the commissions.

On the 19th of February 1870 Lieutenant-Governor Keate gave his decision at Maritzburg. He pronounced in favour of the South African Republic, and laid down the line between the two states from a point on the boundary of the colony of Natal immediately over that source of the streamlet called Gans Vlei which takes its rise at the shortest distance from the northern beacon of the colony, thence down this streamlet to its confluence with the Klip river, and thence down the course of the Klip river to its junction with the Vaal.

In 1869 the term of office of the president expired. The election was contested by only two candidates: the retiring president M. W. Pretorius and Mr. Marthinus Jacobus Viljoen. It was generally assumed that Mr. Pretorius was sure to be returned, so most of the burghers did not take the trouble to record their votes. In all two thousand and ninety-four voting papers were sent in, of which one thousand four hundred and ninety-three were in favour of Mr. Pretorius, and six hundred and one in favour of Mr. Viljoen.

During the period embraced in this chapter three new magistracies were created in the South African Republic. In March 1866 a district named Waterberg was formed out of the northern part of Rustenburg and the western part of Zoutpansberg. It had the Limpopo river as its northern and north-western boundary. The landdrost was stationed at the hamlet of Nylstroom, situated on the head waters of the river of that name. At the same time the district of Heidelberg was formed out of the eastern part of Potchefstroom. The landdrost was stationed at the village of Heidelberg, which had been laid out as a churchplace in the preceding year. On the 19th of June 1869 the volksraad resolved to create a new district, which was named Bloemhof after a village founded in August 1864. On the 12th of November its western boundary was proclaimed to be the Hart river from the Vaal upwards to a prominent curve. In 1868 the village of Zeerust was founded as a churchplace,

but did not become the seat of a landdrost until November 1871. The country to the westward as far as the road from Kuruman through the Molopo river to the north—usually called the old English road, from its having been first used by English hunters — was formed into a fieldcornetcy in December 1869.

The power of the landdrosts had recently been increased by the volksraad, and they could now punish with a fine of £25, twenty-five lashes, or imprisonment with hard labour for six months. The courts of landdrost and heemraden had power to inflict a fine of £50, fifty lashes, or imprisonment with hard labour for three years. No white person, however, could be sentenced to receive lashes. Upon the whole, the laws were as good as those of any other country, and the courts of justice had ample power conferred upon them by the volksraad; but for want of a police it was impossible to enforce justice in all cases. The government was weak, owing to discord among the burghers, and the courts of law were consequently very feeble. Yet great crimes were exceedingly rare, for nowhere in the world was the moral law of greater force than among the farmers of the South African Republic.

The financial condition of the country was about as bad as it could be. In 1870 the government notes were in general not worth more than twenty-five per cent of their nominal value. Yet salaries were paid in them reckoned at par, so that the civil servants were in the greatest distress. No taxes could be collected in metal coin. The only favourable circumstance was that the income of the state slightly exceeded the outlay. In 1869 the revenue was £31,511, and the expenditure £30,836. In June 1870 the volksraad resolved to call in the whole of the paper in circulation, and to issue new notes uniform in appearance. Some of those that should have been cancelled according to former enactments were found to be still in circulation, the redemption provided for by law had not taken place, and the amount of the new issue needed to cover the whole debt was

£73,826. The volksraad passed a resolution to redeem at least £5,000 yearly out of ordinary revenue, or, failing that, by the sale of public lands.

Prior to this time no attempt had been made to impose a tax upon the Bantu individually, and the petty tribute demanded of some of the chiefs was not regarded as revenue, but as a token of their subjection. On the 3rd of June 1870 the volksraad resolved that every adult male must contribute a small sum towards the public revenue. Upon each hut occupied by a black man in the service of a farmer a yearly tax of two shillings and six pence was laid if the hut was on the employer's farm, and five shillings if it was not; if the man was not in service the tax was ten shillings. Every burgher was to be entitled to have five Bantu families, but no more, living on his ground. The heads of kraals were required to collect the tax, and were made subject to penalties if they did not do so. But as there were no police in the country, and therefore no other means of enforcing compliance with the law than calling out commandos, the powerful tribes and clans paid, or did not pay, just as they chose.

CHAPTER LX.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

Commencement of gold mining at the Tati and Eersteling.

SINCE the first exploration of the country by Europeans, the mineral wealth of the South African Republic was commonly supposed to be not only varied, but very great, though not much had yet been done towards developing it. A little lead was obtained for home use, but the difficulty and expense of carriage prevented its exportation. Beds of coal extended over the south-eastern districts, and where wood was scarce coal was used for fuel; but there was no market for it within easy reach. Common salt was plentiful and easily obtained. Silver, copper, cobalt, and saltpetre were also found in various localities, but it had not yet been determined whether any of these minerals could be extracted with profit.

Iron existed in vast quantities, and was smelted by the blacks for their own wants, small clans often being in possession of five or six hundred kilogrammes of it. One mountain in the district of Lydenburg was composed of nearly pure iron ore, and affected the magnetic needle at a distance of ten miles or sixteen kilometres. The farmers often used iron that had been wrought by the blacks into small articles such as hoes, axes, and assagai heads; but they never extracted it for themselves. What was needed in the construction of waggons was imported in bars from Europe, and owing to the long land carriage was very expensive.

The ancient gold miners had penetrated the territory south of the Limpopo, as there are indications that at some remote period pits were sunk and excavations on a small scale were made along outcropping reefs in the district of Lydenburg, but in 1867 gold mining was an unknown industry. The earliest emigrant farmers discouraged any attempt to search for the precious metal systematically. Rest and peace were what they desired, and so they wished to avoid the turmoil and strife which they believed would inevitably follow the advent of a mining population.

There was thus before 1859 no inducement held out by the government to prospect for metals in any part of the country. On the 21st of September of that year the volksraad resolved to permit mining by individuals and companies, under such precautions as the executive council might consider necessary in the interests of the state. The intention was to allow a search for such metals as were indispensable for home use, and their extraction from the ore; but even this was not encouraged. The resolution had no reference to prospecting for gold.

Seven years later, on the 31st of October 1866, a mining ordinance was passed. It allowed the formation of companies to extract and smelt ores under certain conditions, which were to be agreed to in writing when the companies were registered. They were to render to the government correct statements on oath of all ores taken from public ground, and were to pay on the appraised value of such ores, if lead or iron ten shillings, if tin twenty shillings, if copper thirty shillings, for every hundred pounds sterling. Should precious metals be discovered, information was to be given to the government, that proper regulations might be made.

In 1865 Mr. Henry Hartley, son of a British settler in Albany, and recently an elephant hunter in the territory between the Zambesi and the Limpopo, noticed some of the ancient workings there, and being without any knowledge of gold mining, practical or theoretical, after his return to the colony with the ivory and skins he had collected invited a

German geologist named Carl Mauch to accompany him on his next hunting expedition, in order to ascertain what metals were to be had there and whether they were in such quantities as to pay for extracting them. Mr. Mauch accepted the invitation, and examined some large tracts of country. In December 1867 he arrived at Pretoria from Matabeleland, and reported that he had discovered rich and extensive goldfields along the Tati river, a tributary of a stream that flows into the Limpopo from the north. In his travels with Mr. Hartley he had seen ancient workings and the ruins of great stone buildings, and was fired with enthusiasm when he spoke or wrote of his wonderful discoveries. His glowing accounts of the country he had visited attracted attention not only in England and Germany, but throughout the civilised world, and immediately adventurers turned their eyes towards South Africa as a promising field to make fortunes in.

The time was particularly favourable for visiting Matabeleland. The old chief Moselekatse had long since become accustomed to receive European travellers and hunters in a friendly manner, provided they carried out his views of proper etiquette and made him liberal presents. Through their coming to his country he had become possessed of waggons, which he could make use of, and a large collection of valuable articles, which pleased him for an hour, but were of no real service to him.

After the defeat of the Matabele on the Marikwa by the emigrant farmers under Hendrik Potgieter and Pieter Uys in November 1837 the tribe fled to the north, and did not halt long or erect huts until it was far beyond the Matopo mountains. The division that was in advance, or the vanguard, reached the Zambesi, and desired to cross it and continue their journey beyond. They collected a great number of canoes, and ordered the owners to paddle them. These people did so, apparently with willingness, and conveyed the soldiers to an island in the river as night was setting in. Before they were aware that there was another broad stream to be crossed,

the paddlers disappeared with the canoes. Some of the Matabele soldiers tried to swim to the bank, but were drowned, others died of hunger, and others when exhausted were killed by the Makololo. The whole force perished.

At this time one of Moselekatse's sons conspired to establish himself as an independent chief, but his design was discovered before he could retire to a distance with his adherents, as had been his intention, and he and they paid for their treason with their lives.

After these events Moselekatse turned back, and he settled then in the territory bordering on the Matopos.

In 1857 the reverend Robert Moffat, of Kuruman, had paid him a visit, and obtained his consent to the establishment of a mission in the country. The London society then appointed the reverend Messrs. Thomas and Sykes to commence the work, and on the 28th of October 1859 they, accompanied by the reverend John Smith Moffat, son of the old missionary, reached Bulawayo. Moselekatse gave them ground for a station at a place called Inyati, on the head waters of one of the streams which flow northward to the Zambesi, and there in December they established themselves. Probably the teaching of the missionaries had some effect indirectly on the thoughts of the Matabele, though no professed converts to Christianity were made, and the old system of government—a pure military despotism—remained unchanged.

The tribe had lost some of its fierceness by an admixture of blood with the people it had conquered. Just as Betshuana boys and girls had been incorporated in it when Moselekatse lived south of the Limpopo, so Makalanga boys and girls had been adopted since that time, and the blood of these feebler people had leavened the greater part of the community. Whole regiments were composed of Makalanga, of course with Zulu officers, and these, though ready to perform any act of treachery, perfidy, or cruelty, were far less brave in the field than the men who had come up from the coast and swept the inland inhabitants away before them.

In October 1868 Moselekatse died. His legitimate heir, the only son of his great wife, had disappeared many years before, and it was not certain whether he had been killed by his father's order, or whether he had fled to some other country and was still alive. Under these circumstances the induna Nombati was appointed regent until the missing heir, Kuruman by name, could be found, or some other arrangement could be made. Nombati was now very old and feeble in body, though his intellect was still perfectly clear. It was he who had visited the reverend Robert Moffat in the Batlapin country, and been deeply impressed by the kindness as well as the ability of that eminent missionary. It was he who afterwards went to Capetown as the representative of his chief, and affixed a mark to a document which was held by many white men in England to be an engagement binding on the British government as well as on the Matabele people. In Capetown and when returning home through the colony he had been treated in the most friendly manner, so that a good impression of Europeans had been left on his mind. Of their valour and skill in war he could have no doubt after the encounters of his tribe with the emigrant farmers and its decisive defeat on the Marikwa. Nombati had therefore for many years been a professed friend of Europeans, and was the recognised advocate of the hunters and traders in the country when they wished to obtain favours from the chief.

Confidential messengers were sent out in all directions to search for Kuruman, and in Natal a man was found who claimed to be the individual looked for. He afterwards denied this, but subsequently stated that he had done so through fear of being assassinated, and asserted that he was in real truth the legitimate heir of Moselekatse. Upon being closely examined, however, the account that he gave of himself was such that most of the indunas and old people came to the conclusion that he was not Kuruman, but a son of Moselekatse of much lower rank. Nombati was decidedly of this opinion. A man now came forward who

asserted that he was the executioner of Kuruman, by order of Moselekatse, and who gave details as to the manner of his death.

As their future chief the majority of the indunas then selected Lobengula, a son of Moselekatse by an inferior wife, but who had been adopted by the great wife by command of his father, and who was therefore regarded as chosen by Moselekatse to be his successor. This young man possessed a large amount of intelligence, and was of a comparatively mild disposition, being good-natured and averse to cruelty, though as ruler of a tribe of marauders he was afterwards obliged by his position to sanction the frequent raids of his army upon any clans within its reach. For some time past he had dressed as a European and had travelled about the country with a white man, living in a waggon, which kind of existence was so much to his liking that he never abandoned it, though after his installation as chief he discarded European attire. It was with much reluctance that he accepted the post, and only gave his consent when Nombati decided against the individual who claimed to be Kuruman. Like Nombati, he professed to be a friend of Europeans, and in later years he proved that he was really well disposed towards them. On the 24th of January 1870 he was invested with the chieftainship of the tribe with the usual ceremonies.

These included a war-dance by nine or ten thousand soldiers, plumed and attired with capes of ostrich feathers on their shoulders, bands of otter skin over their foreheads, brushes of the tails of oxen encircling their arms and legs, and kilts of wild-cat skins. A chant in praise of the chief and defying his rival was described by several Europeans who were present as most impressive, the chorus being accompanied by the striking of spear-shafts upon the shields and the stamping of the warriors' feet in perfect time. To this succeeded the sacrifice of a large number of oxen to the spirits of the dead chiefs, especially the spirit of Moselekatse, whose body lay entombed close by in the Matopo hills.

A section of the Matabele, however, declared in favour of the claimant from Natal. This party included the Sokindaba regiment, the most famous of all the veteran warrior bands, so that civil war was unavoidable. The issue was decided in one stubbornly contested battle, in which Lobengula's forces won a complete victory, and secured for their leader undisputed authority over the tribe. The character of the new chief is shown by the fact that instead of utterly exterminating the defeated foe, as his father would have done, he drafted all who survived the battle into some of the regiments that had fought on his side. His rival lived for some years after this event at Shoshong and in the South African Republic, but was never again in a position to dispute his right to the Matabele chieftainship.

The armies of Moselekatse had ravaged the territory now known as Mashonaland as well as the district in which the tribe resided. A large proportion of the Makalanga and other people living there had been exterminated, and the remainder had been reduced to a condition of extreme poverty and misery. They lived among the rocks on the mountains, and as they could not cultivate the ground to any extent or keep herds of cattle for fear of attracting the attention of their masters, they eked out a miserable existence hardly better than that of the Bushmen whom their ancestors had supplanted, as was shown by the rock paintings and chippings in many parts of the country. Of late, however, they were not butchered quite as ruthlessly as in former years, and after Lobengula's accession raids upon them were much less frequent than before.

This was the condition of Matabeleland at the time and just after the announcement of Mauch's discovery at the Tati. Small parties of gold seekers were at once fitted out in different parts of South Africa, and made their way as best they could to the place where they hoped fortunes awaited them. The first to reach the Tati consisted of nine men from Potchefstroom, under Captain Black, who cleared out an old shaft 10·67 metres or thirty-five feet deep, thus

opening up an ancient mine. Next to arrive was a party of four men from Waterberg. On the 22nd of June 1868, when the first party had been working seven weeks, they were visited by Dr. H. Exton, who reported that the thirteen diggers had only obtained about eighteen grammes or half an ounce of gold to that date.

The territory between the Matopo range and the Limpopo was then almost uninhabited, as its former occupants had fled into the Transvaal Republic to be free from Moselekatse's stabbing assagais, and now formed portions of the tribes under Magadu, Sekukuni, and other chiefs. Not far south of the Matopo there lived an Englishman, Mr. John Lee, on a farm given to him by Moselekatse, with whom he was a favourite, and who frequently acted by his advice in dealing with white men.

The parties of diggers, as they arrived in succession, scattered about along the Tati river, and gave new names to the localities where they pitched their tents. In 1869 they were joined by a number of experienced miners, who with some others, one hundred and eighty-five in all, had been induced to migrate to South Africa by the exaggerated reports that reached Australia. On their arrival in Natal, in February and April 1869, instead of finding rich alluvial gold-fields within easy reach, as they had anticipated, they learned that a journey of over fourteen hundred kilometres or nine hundred miles was before them, and that nothing positive was known of the condition of the locality where the reefs had been found. The spirited people of Natal, however, came to their aid in a liberal manner. Some were employed to search for gold in that colony, where a few grains were found in one or two places, though nowhere a sufficient quantity to encourage a continuation of work. Thirty-four of them were equipped by a company in Natal, and sent to the Tati to prove its capabilities. They selected a place about forty-eight kilometres or thirty miles higher up the river than the other diggers, where they thought the prospects were better.

In a short time these men examined the country in their neighbourhood without finding sufficient to satisfy their desires, and then individuals among them formed little associations and went much farther inland in search of either alluvial gold or rich quartz reefs. They examined several of the ancient workings, and observed that the method employed for extracting quartz from the outcrops of reefs had been by kindling large fires and then throwing water on the heated rock. They came to the conclusion that the former miners, whoever they were, had been quite as skilful in prospecting as themselves, and that the richest reefs had been taken out until water was reached and crushed long before. They did not succeed in discovering alluvial gold away from the banks of the Tati.

In England the London and Limpopo Mining Company was formed in 1868. On the 27th of April 1869 its principal managers, Sir John Swinburne and Captain Arthur Lionel Levert, reached the Tati with a steam engine, and soon afterwards commenced work. At this time more than a hundred European diggers in little parties were scattered along the river, and two or three times that number of blacks were employed by them, all raising quartz from pits or searching for alluvial gold. Some of the quartz was rich, but the appliances for crushing it were so crude that the gold produced did not yield a fair return for the labour employed, especially as provisions, owing to the long land carriage, cost nearly twice as much as in Pretoria or Potchefstroom. Only the merest traces of alluvial gold were found, and after a short time the diggers became disheartened and moved away to the diamond fields that were then being opened up on the banks of the Vaal. Some simply abandoned their claims, others before leaving disposed of the rights they had obtained in the territory to the London and Limpopo Mining Company, which was thus left in sole occupation of the reefs at the Tati.

It was conclusively proved that it would be unprofitable to dig for alluvial gold in that part of South Africa, and

whether quartz crushing with proper machinery would pay remained to be tested. The stamping apparatus of the London and Limpopo Mining Company was almost useless, but specimens of rock sent to England for examination were so rich that it could not be doubted that with effective appliances large profits would be obtained. The company therefore continued working, though for some time on a very small scale. It had obtained from Nombati, when regent, verbal permission to set up machinery and extract metals, and Lobengula confirmed these privileges. In 1872 Captain Levert obtained from the chief a written concession giving full and exclusive mining rights to the company over the large tract of land between the Matopo range and the Shashi river, since known as the Tati district, and when this was acquired operations could be more safely extended, though considerable time was still needed to get out and erect suitable crushing machinery.

Another association formed in England in 1868 termed itself the South African Goldfields Exploration Company. It sent out the celebrated traveller and artist Thomas Baines and a Swedish mineralogist named C. J. Nelson to inspect the country and obtain mining concessions. Messrs. Baines and Nelson reached Port Natal on the 16th of February 1869, and as soon as they could procure a conveyance set out for the interior. Messrs. Hartley and Mauch had discovered in 1866 what they believed to be rich goldfields south of the Zambesi river and west of a stream that flows into it opposite Zumbo, and it was to this region that Messrs. Baines and Nelson directed their attention. A party of eleven adventurous colonists of Natal had formed themselves into the Durban Gold Mining Company, and had endeavoured to reach the same ground some time previously, but at Inyati they had been attacked by fever, of which four of them died, and the other seven were so debilitated that they were obliged to return to the coast.

Having obtained permission from Nombati, Mr. Baines inspected that part of the country, and was then granted by

Lobengula a verbal concession to carry on mining operations in it. The company was not satisfied with this, however, and Mr. Baines, after proceeding to the coast and sending his report to England, was obliged to return to Bulawayo, where on the 29th of August 1871 he obtained a concession in writing from the chief. But nothing came of it, for the company failed to raise the necessary capital, and no mining operations were undertaken in that locality. Mr. Nelson entered the service of the London and Limpopo Mining Company at Tati, and Mr. Baines, after supporting himself for some years as an artist, died of dysentery at Durban on the 8th of May 1875.

In 1869 Mr. Edward Button, an enterprising Natal colonist, with some experienced associates explored the country along the eastern mountains in the Transvaal Republic, and discovered gold in small quantities in various places. In 1870 he continued these explorations with the same result. In the winter of 1871 he prospected in the district of Zoutpansberg, and on the 8th of September of that year he exhibited to the volksraad specimens of rich gold-bearing quartz which he had discovered fourteen kilometres or nine miles south-east of Marabastad. Having obtained the privileges he desired, he proceeded to England, and in 1872 formed there the Transvaal Gold Mining Company, with a capital of £50,000, with the object of working the mine at Eersteling, as his ground in the Zoutpansberg district was called. With machinery for quartz crushing he returned to South Africa, and at a little later date the opening of the mine was commenced. There, as at the Tati, alluvial gold was diligently sought for, and small quantities were obtained; but it was found that it would not pay the cost of collecting it.

The government of the republic and a considerable majority of the farmers held at this time favourable views with regard to gold mining, regarding it as a likely means of relieving the financial condition of the state, which was as low as it possibly could be. On the 14th of June 1870

the volksraad resolved that five per cent of the value of gold and two and a half per cent of the value of silver obtained by miners should be paid into the public treasury. Next, the whole country, excepting only cultivated ground and homesteads, was thrown open to prospectors on payment of twenty shillings for a license, and when claims were selected and worked a fee of ten shillings monthly. Mr. Button was appointed gold commissioner, and was empowered, with a committee elected by the diggers, to draw up byelaws or rules regulating mining matters for the approval of the volksraad.

That a new condition of things was created by Mr. Mauch's report to the volksraad in December 1867 was at once apparent. President Pretorius, being desirous that any mining community which might spring up in close proximity to occupied farms should be subject to the laws of the republic, sent messengers to Moselekatse and Matsheng to endeavour to induce those chiefs to admit that they were subject to control by the emigrant farmers. Matsheng was chief of the Bamangwato, and resided at Shoshong, a place situated on the road to Matabeleland commonly used, because the routes farther eastward passed through districts infested by the tsetse.

The Bamangwato, though long a distinct tribe, belonged to the Bakwena group, its founder, Mangwato by name, having separated from the main stem five generations of chiefs before. These five generations, however, correspond in time to fourteen generations in the Bahurutsi or main stem, to twelve generations in the modern Bakwena, an important branch, and to eight generations in the Bangwaketse, another large branch, so that each chief's life must have been a very long one. The line of descent is Mangwato — brother of Mohurutsi and Ngwaketse and son of Malope brother of Kwena,—Mathibe, Khama, Khari, Matsheng.

The Bamangwato tribe had been partly destroyed, and the remnant was dispersed in war with the Barozwe, when its chief, Khari by name, was killed. After a time Sekhomi, an

inferior son of Khari, collected the scattered people together and settled with them at Shoshong. It was not a desirable place of residence, for the supply of water was so scanty that very little vegetable food could be grown, but the mountains afforded shelter and means of defence against ordinary enemies. Here they were attacked by the Makololo under Sebetoane, on their way to the Zambesi, and were again dispersed, when Sekhomi was made a prisoner. He was not put to death, however, and after the Makololo moved on he made his escape and once more collected the remnant of the tribe together and reoccupied Shoshong.

Some years after Khari's death his great widow gave birth to a son, named Matsheng, who was regarded by the Bamangwato as their legitimate chief. This boy was made captive by the Matabele, and was compelled to serve as a carrier in Moselekatse's army, from which position he rose in time to be a soldier. But the Bamangwato never forgot him, and on their entreaty the reverend Robert Moffat, of Kuruman, the recognised friend of all the Betshuana, used his influence with Moselekatse, and Matsheng was set free. He returned to Shoshong after twenty years' absence, and was joyfully received by the people as their chief.

But he had been trained as a Matabele soldier, and strove to govern after the Matabele pattern. The Bamangwato soon found that they had a tyrant at their head, and that the slightest offence cost a man his life. There were no more public meetings in the kotla to discuss matters, according to Setshuana custom, the hereditary counsellors of the tribe were forced to keep silence, and were replaced by men appointed by the chief to carry out his orders and do nothing more. Devotion to their legitimate chiefs is not so strong among the interior tribes as among those of the eastern coast. As long as their head is a member of the ruling family, they are in most cases satisfied, and so a party of the Bamangwato, after a fair trial of Matsheng, in 1859 with the assistance of the Bakwena chief Setsheli rose against his tyranny, compelled him to retire, and raised

Sekhomi again to be their chief. The rejected despot with a few adherents took refuge with Setsheli, who for political reasons was always glad to give shelter to exiles of note.

Fortune, however, favoured him once more. Khama, the eldest son of Sekhomi, embraced Christianity, and refused to conform to the ancient customs of his people, which so irritated his father that war was made upon him and he and his adherents were driven away from Shoshong. After a time he returned, when Sekhomi, finding the people well disposed towards his son, who was an exceedingly able man, in his animosity sent an invitation to Matsheng to return and put Khama to death. In May 1866 Matsheng reached Shoshong, and for the second time became chief of the Bamangwato. He refused to cause Khama to be murdered, and Sekhomi, who then realised the dangerous position in which he had placed himself, fled to Setsheli and was taken under that schemer's protection. Matsheng had not learnt moderation during his exile, but for more than six years the Bamangwato submitted to his tyranny. Then there was another revolution, and on the 1st of September 1872 he was finally driven from Shoshong by Khama with the aid of Setsheli, when the individual who professed to be Kuruman was also obliged to leave that place. Ngare, Matsheng's son of highest rank, who might have proved a formidable rival of Khama, was banished from the Bamangwato territory, and further strife was thus prevented.

Such was Matsheng, chief of the Bamangwato, when the messengers of President Pretorius arrived at Shoshong. He could not be induced to comply with their desires, and stated that he was absolutely independent, though he admitted that Moselekatse was a greater and more powerful man. Some English traders and hunters who were there at the time, however, represented to him so forcibly what the results of an inrush of gold diggers might be, that he resolved on their advice to petition the British government for protection. The reverend John Mackenzie, who had long

been residing as a missionary at Shoshong, accordingly wrote a letter for him to that effect to the high commissioner Sir Philip Wodehouse, but the imperial authorities were indisposed to take any action in the matter.

With the old ruler of the Matabele, then too feeble to move and very near his end, the messengers met with no better success; it is doubtful indeed whether they even ventured to state their object in plain words.

Without waiting for reports from his messengers, on the 29th of April 1868 the president, with the concurrence of the executive council, issued a proclamation in which the boundaries of the republic were extended on the west to a straight line from Lake Ngami to the northern point of Langeberg, and on the east were made to include one mile (1·6 kilometre) on each side of the rivers Pongolo and Maputa down to the sea. On the north a great extent of country was added to the republic, but not the district occupied by Moselekatse.

As soon as this proclamation reached Capetown, Sir Philip Wodehouse wrote objecting to the inclusion in the republic of so much territory previously occupied by independent Bantu tribes; and Chevalier Duprat, consul-general for Portugal in South Africa, wrote that a portion of the land annexed on the east coast had been since 1546 in possession of the kingdom he represented.

It is purely a matter of opinion what were the rightful boundaries of the republic at this time, for wherever a line might be laid down parties would be found not only to dispute it, but to bring weighty arguments against it. All that can be done is to give the facts on which the different views rested.

The boundaries were left undefined by the convention of 1852, but there are means of concluding fairly what the British commissioners understood them to be, at least on the west. Messrs. Hogge and Owen had before them the declaration of Commandant-General Potgieter and the volksraad of his party claiming the country as far as the

falls of the Orange river, that is nearly the whole of Betshuanaland as well as the present Transvaal colony. That extent of country was claimed by the emigrant farmers as having been taken from Moselekatse, and there is no question that all of the tribes previously occupying that region, the Batlapin excepted, had been broken up by the Matabele. The soldiers of Moselekatse did not indeed traverse the Kalahari desert as far westward as the meridian running through the falls of the Orange, but the terror of their name extended that far, and there was no compact tribe left east of it. The declaration of Potgieter, therefore, was not unreasonable from the point of view of the emigrant farmers.

A copy of the document in which the declaration is made was filed by Messrs. Hogge and Owen with their other records, and they never disputed it, or so much as attached a note or a memorandum to it to show that they regarded it unfavourably. On the 9th of June 1852 Major Hogge died, and excepting what has been stated in a preceding volume there is no further evidence than the above as to what his views were. Mr. Owen, however, who was in most matters in full accord with Major Hogge, was of opinion that the very best thing England could do would be to withdraw all intercourse with the interior of South Africa, where, in his opinion, neither glory nor profit of any kind was to be had. The hunters would soon kill all the game, he believed, and then if the farmers and the blacks chose to quarrel about any number of hundred square miles of desert, let them do it to their hearts' content: Englishmen could be much better employed than backing up either side.

In the evening of Tuesday, the 22nd of June 1852, a public dinner was given in Bloemfontein in honour of Commandant-General Andries Pretorius, who had arrived on a visit during the preceding day. Among the guests were Assistant-Commissioner Owen, Mr. Louis Henry Meurant, and Commandant Pieter Scholtz. After a good many complimentary toasts had been drunk, and when everybody was

in the best of humour, the recent convention happened to be spoken about. Mr. Pretorius asked Mr. Owen: "how about our lower line, after Vaal river ends?" "Oh!" replied Mr. Owen, "you may have the Orange down to the sea, if you like." Whether this remark was a result of the frequency with which the wine glasses had been emptied, or not, both parties remembered all about it two days afterwards. Commandant-General Pretorius had a very strong liking for the Orange down to the sea, and Mr. Owen was not the man to go back from his word. The following document was therefore drawn up and signed:

"With reference to the article in the convention entered into by her Majesty's assistant commissioners Major Hogge and Mr. C. M. Owen, and the commandant-general A. W. J. Pretorius, Esquire, and other delegates of the emigrants over the Vaal, dated at Sand River the 17th January 1852, concerning the line of Vaal river; it is hereby further resolved by the above named gentlemen that the lower line shall be from where the Vaal river joins the Orange river, down along the said river to the sea, the British government having no authority north of the said Orange river as above named; this agreement being subject to the approval of his Excellency the high commissioner.

"Bloemfontein, 24th June 1852.

"C. Mostyn Owen, Assistant-Commissioner,
"A. W. J. Pretorius, Commandant-General,
"P. E. Scholtz, Commandant.

"As witness: L. H. Meurant."

But the arrangement made under such convivial circumstances never was submitted to the high commissioner, and consequently never had any legal force, though nineteen years later the document itself was produced as evidence at the Bloemhof arbitration.

The copy of Commandant-General Potgieter's declaration as to the territory belonging to the emigrant farmers extending to the falls of the Orange was transferred by Assistant-Commissioner Owen among many other documents to Sir George Clerk, without any observation being made upon it. Sir George Clerk read over the packages of manuscript so received, commented upon most of the papers, but passed this one by without notice. The fair inference

is that the special commissioner, like the assistant commissioners, had no objection to the republic fixing its western boundary wherever it chose.

There was a man, however, who did object at this time to the exercise by the republican government of authority over the blacks on the border of the desert. That man was the reverend Dr. Livingstone. He persisted in claiming independence for the Bakwena under Setsheli, with whom he was stationed as a missionary. The lower road to the interior, opened by English hunters and traders, and passing through the London Society's station of Kuruman, he constantly wrote of as being outside the republic. He complained to Sir George Cathcart, her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa, when Commandant-General Pretorius attempted to close this road so as to prevent the sale of munitions of war to the blacks. But he failed to induce the high commissioner to see the matter as he saw it, and the only conclusion one can arrive at is that Sir George Cathcart did not object to the indefinite extension of the republic westward. The policy of the imperial government was one of withdrawal. The emigrant farmers therefore could do what seemed to them best.

At a little later date, however, a different view was expressed in England. In reply to a request made by Sir George Grey for instructions as to the interpretation to be put upon the conventions of 1852 and 1854, the right honourable Henry Labouchere, then secretary of state for the colonies, wrote on the 5th of March 1857:—

"Her Majesty's Government cannot admit that the general declarations embodied in those conventions amount to a renunciation for all future time of the right to conclude treaties with the native tribes specified therein, under all supposable circumstances. They conceive that those declarations are to be taken, as regards the future, as amounting to no more than a general indication of the policy of Her Majesty's Government, namely, to avoid embarrassing these free states by the entertainment of any separate relations with the tribes within or closely bordering on their limits, of a nature to excite well-founded jealousy on their part.

"With regard to the meaning of the geographical expression 'north of the Vaal river,' Her Majesty's Government understand it as used in its

ordinary and positive sense, and not according to the very illegitimate extension of its meaning which you say is acted upon, viz. north of 'the latitude of' the Vaal river."

That this question of their western boundary had been under the notice of the British authorities in South Africa when the conventions of 1852 and 1854 were signed was unknown to the burghers of the South African Republic in 1868; but they were of course aware that a claim had always been made to the territory as far west as it was habitable, based on the conquest of the Matabele.

The opposite view, or that held by most people in Europe, was that the boundaries of the republic were—or ought to have been—the outer lines of its old fieldcornetcies. That view cut off all the Bantu clans that were not actually living among white people and all unoccupied ground beyond the outermost settled farm. Several maps were constructed on this principle. But if it was correct, how can waste lands be included in the map of any country?

A third view was that the boundaries should include the country—and no more—over which the government at Pretoria actually exercised jurisdiction with the consent of the inhabitants, white and black. But that implied that as soon as a clan became strong enough to resist, it was entitled to independence. The government, as has been over and over again shown, recognised the plain fact that there were two classes of people, differing very greatly, living on the same ground and partly intermingled. One class had the instincts of civilisation, and was therefore entitled to be ruled according to the laws and methods of civilised lands. The other class was composed of barbarians. Those who belonged to it were excluded from political association with the Europeans, but they had their own government left to them, except in matters in which white people also were concerned. In such cases the law of the higher race was supreme. In South Africa this seems very simple and natural; but people in Europe find it difficult to comprehend and still more difficult to appreciate. North, west, and east,

the districts settled by white people were fringed with clans ruled by their own chiefs, over whom the government at Pretoria claimed supremacy. None of these clans could have been there at all, many of them could not have been in existence even, if it had not been for the presence of Europeans in the country. Were they to be regarded as independent whenever they chose to declare themselves free of control?

Then there was a fourth view. Among the clans on the border of the districts occupied by Europeans were several that during the years of civil strife had been left entirely to themselves. Ought not these to be considered independent, and the ground they occupied to be regarded as no longer within the domain of the republic? According to this view, cessation of interference of every kind for a period of five or six years is equivalent to renunciation of sovereignty over people like the Bantu clans. Whether this is correct or not, the resumption of authority in such cases is generally attended with considerable difficulty, and always meets with resistance of some kind.

The objections raised by Sir Philip Wodehouse and Chevalier Duprat to the proclamation by President Pretorius of the 29th of April 1868 caused the government to recede to a great extent from the claims it had made. The question of the western boundary will form the subject of a future chapter, the boundary on the east was arranged without difficulty.

After some correspondence with the Portuguese consul-general concerning this subject and the advantage of a treaty of commerce, on the 8th of June 1869 the volksraad approved of the negotiations as far as they had been conducted, and appointed a commission to conclude a treaty. The commissioners chosen were President M. W. Pretorius, Messrs. Heinrich Julius Ueckermann, Joseph Johannes Fourie, and John Robert Lys, members of the volksraad, Mr. Marthinus Jacobus Viljoen, member of the executive council, Commandant-General S. J. Paul Kruger, and Bernard

Cornelis Ernest Proes, LL.D., state secretary. On the other part, the consul-general Alfredo Duprat was fully empowered by his Majesty the king of Portugal and the Algarves to act on behalf of his government.

The commissioners on both sides met at Pretoria, and on the 29th of July 1869 the treaty was drawn up and signed. It contained twenty-four clauses: providing for peace and friendship between the contracting powers; freedom for the subjects or citizens of each to carry on trade in the dominions of the other, except in munitions of war and in slaves, on the same terms as the most favoured of any other nation; complete protection of person and property, freedom of conscience, freedom from military service or taxes for military purposes, and full testamentary powers, of the subjects or citizens of each in the dominions of the other; extradition of criminals; liberty to appoint consuls and agents, who were to enjoy many privileges; and other matters of a similar nature. The clauses relating to commerce were to have force for six years, and were thereafter to be subject to a notice of twelve months before becoming void; all the other clauses were to be binding on both parties in perpetuity.

The boundary of the Portuguese dominions in South-Eastern Africa is defined in the treaty as the parallel of latitude of 26° 30′ from the Indian ocean to the Lebombo mountains, thence along the highest ridge of the Lebombo to the centre of the lower poort of Komati where the river of that name passes through the range, thence in a straight line about north by east to Pokioenskop on the northern bank of the Olifants river where it passes through the mountains, thence in a direction about north-west by north to the nearest point of the mountains of Tshakundo on the Umvubu river, and thence in a straight line to the junction of the Pafuri and Limpopo rivers.

The final ratification of this treaty took place at Pretoria on the 10th of July 1871. The delay was occasioned by the arrival at Potchefstroom in December 1869 of a Portuguese

diplomatic commission, under the presidency of the baron Carlos Pedro Barahona e Costa, governor of Kilimane. This commission proposed several supplementary articles, which, however, were ultimately rejected by the Portuguese government.

The diplomatic commission remained at Potchefstroom for several months. On the 8th of July 1870, as a mark of the friendship existing between the two countries, the governor of Kilimane was made an honorary citizen of the South African Republic. His residence at Potchefstroom was productive of an event marking the progress in liberal ideas that had been made in the republic since the adoption of the constitution. His Excellency forwarded to the volksraad two memorials signed respectively by fifty-eight and eighty-one individuals, in favour of religious liberty for Roman Catholics, whereupon a resolution was adopted — 1st of June 1870 — permitting perfect freedom of worship to burghers and residents, and annulling the restrictive clauses of the constitution in that respect. Unlike the constitution of the Orange Free State, that of the South African Republic could be altered or amended at any time by a simple resolution of the volksraad.

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CHAPTER LXI.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE FROM APRIL 1866 TO MARCH 1868.

A FEW weeks after the treaty of Thaba Bosigo was signed, the volksraad met and decided what measures to adopt to prevent the peace being broken again. First it was necessary to strengthen the European population. A portion of the territory taken from Moshesh would be required as locations for such Basuto as could with safety be permitted to remain there as subjects of the Free State, but it was determined to dispose of the larger part as farms to be held under condition of personal occupation. The same course, in short, was to be followed as had been introduced by Sir George Cathcart with marked success in the colonial districts of Queenstown and Victoria East, and had been adopted by Sir George Grey when settling British Kaffraria.

Next came provision for the control of the Basuto who had become subjects of the Free State. On the 23rd of May 1866 an ordinance was promulgated for the management of Molapo's clan, the principal clauses of which were to the following effect: The district occupied by the clan, bounded by the Caledon, the Putiatsana, and the Drakensberg, was constituted a reserve, in which no white man could settle without special permission from the president and the executive council, and this permission could only be given to persons whose occupations were defined. No licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors within the reserve could be granted. A European officer with the title of commandant, but with the power of a landdrost, was to be

stationed in the reserve, and was to have jurisdiction there. Criminal cases involving the penalty of death were to be submitted to the attorney-general of the state for instructions. Molapo and his counsellors were to retain jurisdiction in civil cases, but the parties interested were to have a right of appeal to the commandant. A hut tax of ten shillings a year was to be paid by all except the principal captains. The Dutch Reformed church was to have the right of stationing a missionary with the people. The president with the advice of the executive council was empowered to make regulations for the guidance of the commandant.

Owing to the war, the treasury of the republic was in such a condition that extraordinary means were necessary to replenish it. A large proportion of the burghers were quite unable to pay the taxes, and there were outstanding debts for ammunition to be met in addition to the ordinary expenditure. In February the volksraad authorised the president to contract a loan of £30,000 for three years at eight per cent interest per annum, but no one could be found willing to advance the money, as the prospects of the country seemed to strangers very dark indeed.

On the 11th of June 1866 the volksraad, as the only resource, resolved to issue notes to the amount of £100,000, and to declare them a legal tender. Of this sum, £57,000 was to be lent to burghers on mortgage of landed property, at a yearly interest of six per cent. Each district was to have an equal share of the loan, and no individual could borrow more than £500. No portion of this sum was to be redeemed for five years, but after that term it was to be paid off at the rate of £10,000 annually. The mortgages were to be made out in accordance with this provision. By this means it was hoped that many persons would be able to commence farming operations again, that the treasury would be enriched by more than £3,000 a year, and that the want of a circulating medium would be to some extent supplied.

The remainder of the issue, or £43,000, was intended to meet the existing liabilities of the country. The public lands were pledged as security that the notes would be paid, and the interest received from the other portion of the issue, as it came in, was to be devoted to the reduction of the debt.

The notes thus put in circulation served the purposes for which they were intended, though the members of the volksraad and everyone else admitted that such a measure was only justifiable under the adverse circumstances in which the country was then placed. Though a legal tender, they never were equal in value to metal coin, and the rate of exchange against them was subject to great fluctuations. As they were valueless in the British colonies, a large portion of the trade of the country was thereafter carried on by means of barter.

The high commissioner, on learning the conditions of the treaties of Imparani and Thaba Bosigo, lost no time in writing to the president expressing his disapproval of them. In his view, the country left to the Basuto was too small. If it had been impossible to prevent them pressing on the farmers before, how would it be now that they were rolled back within the new boundaries? His Excellency did not consider that one of the main objects which the Free State had in view was to compel a considerable number of the Basuto to disperse to other locations which would be provided for them, and so to weaken the power of Moshesh. Further, Sir Philip Wodehouse did not approve of the separation of Molapo's clan from the rest of the tribe. As this chief was now a Free State subject, his Excellency held that the Free State was responsible for his share of the cattle still due to Natal, and requested the president to require him to furnish seven hundred head. The correspondence on this subject, however, had no other result than to deepen the impression of the Free State people that all Sir Philip Wodehouse's sympathy was against them and with the Basuto.

The treaties were hardly signed when Moshesh and Letsie renewed their efforts to obtain British protection, in the supposition that if Great Britain could be induced to take them over, the boundaries defined by Sir George Grey and Sir Philip Wodehouse would be restored. To this effect Letsie wrote to the high commissioner on the 11th of May, and when this did not succeed, a deputation consisting of Moperi, Tsekelo, and some others of less note, was sent by Moshesh to the lieutenant-governor of Natal, with the same object. This mission led to a good deal of correspondence between the imperial and colonial governments and the chiefs, but had no result. On the 9th of March Mr. Cardwell, then secretary of state for the colonies, had written to Sir Philip Wodehouse that "the extension of British rule in South Africa was a matter too serious in its bearings to be entertained by Her Majesty's government without some overruling necessity," and that he was "not prepared to authorise compliance with the request of the Basuto chiefs that their country might be taken under the immediate authority of the Queen." And on the 25th of July, Lord Carnarvon, who succeeded Mr. Cardwell, withdrew even the authority granted by his predecessor for the appointment of a resident diplomatic agent with the Basuto chief, and stated his view that "connection with the tribe should be limited to a friendly mediation, such as could lead to no closer or entangling relationship."

Letsie, Moperi, and Molitsane then turned to the Free State government and expressed a strong desire to become its subjects. Long afterwards Letsie stated that his sole object in doing so was to gain time, and that he never had any intention of submitting in earnest to the republic. The language he used, however, was similar to that employed when addressing the high commissioner with the same object. The reply he received was that he must first prove himself worthy of becoming a subject, and then his request would be taken into consideration; but that before anything could be done in that direction the cattle due to Natal must

be paid, to prevent the high commissioner holding the Free State responsible. In the meantime he had permission to remain where he was until his crops should be reaped. In December Letsie for the second time sent his son Lerothodi to Bloemfontein to urge that he might be taken over, but to no purpose.

Molitsane had permission to remain on the northern side of the Caledon until a suitable location could be found for him. He was informed that if the future owners of the farms chose to allow small parties of his people to continue their residence where they were, the government would not object as long as they behaved themselves. They therefore gathered their crops, and when the season for sowing came round again, put more ground under cultivation than they had ever done before. This leniency on the part of the Free State, after so much experience of the folly of treating people like the Bataung with a gentleness which they could not understand, was afterwards condemned as a mistake by even the strongest partisans of the Basuto. It was an indirect encouragement, they said, to Moshesh's tribe to believe that the ground was still theirs.

Moperi was treated in the same manner. This chief was recognised by everyone as the least untrustworthy of all the heads of clans in the Lesuto. His language was so guarded and his behaviour in presence of Europeans was marked by such propriety that he had the reputation of being the most sensible and civilised man in his tribe. Though a brother of Moshesh, his position was not a fortunate one. His nephews regarded him with great jealousy. Hemmed in by Molapo, Masupha, and Molitsane, the tract of land occupied by his clan was very small and was constantly being encroached upon. Knowing his circumstances, the Free State would have accepted him as a subject at once, if it had not been for the high commissioner's view of responsibility for the cattle due to Natal.

The event which attracted most attention at this time both in South Africa and in Europe was not, however, the

condition or the prospects of either of the late belligerents, but the treatment to which the French missionaries had been subjected. In England a great outcry was raised against the Free State. The directors in Paris not only wrote, but sent a deputation to the authorities of the colonial department in London, on the subject. Pens were busy all over the United Kingdom describing the expulsion of the missionaries, as the greatest outrage of modern times. By all the writers the act was termed a suppression of mission work and a destruction of mission stations. There seemed to be but one view of the matter: that the request of the Paris directors ought to be complied with, the missionaries be permitted to return to their stations, their personal losses be made good to them, and their converts and all who were desirous of Christian instruction be allowed to gather round them and profit by their teaching once more.

A slight examination of the matter will show how imprudent it would have been for the Free State to have followed such a course. It would have been equivalent to giving up all the fruits of victory, for it would have restored the Basuto tribe to the position it held before the war. Every Mosuto in the territory would have professed a desire for Christian instruction, and there would have been no land on which a European population could have been located in safety. At first sight it seems a pitiless proceeding to remove the conquered people of a district, but in reality it entails very little hardship upon a Bantu clan. They shift about from place to place with the greatest ease, the trifling labour of building new huts being almost the only inconvenience to which a change of residence subjects them. It was a matter of necessity to the very existence of the Free State that the people of the mission stations in the annexed territory should be located somewhere else. The stations were broken up, not out of antipathy to the propagation of Christianity, but because the enemies of the Free State could not safely be allowed to assemble there.

The members of the volksraad deliberated on this matter in utter unconcern of the feelings roused against them beyond the shores of South Africa. They appointed a commission to take evidence upon the conduct of the missionaries. When this commission reported that no charges of having taken part in hostilities could be proved against the expelled clergymen, they decided that no compensation should be made for their personal losses, on the ground of the enmity displayed in such of their letters as had been made public. The Paris Evangelical Society was recognised as owner of the buildings on the stations, and in order to give these buildings value, a tract of land fifteen hundred morgen in extent, surrounding each of the stations, was assigned to the society, which it might use as a farm or dispose of at its option, the only charge made therefor being a sum of £100 on each grant.

The Wesleyan society was treated in the same manner. When Moshesh, during the Sovereignty period, overran the reserves allotted to Sikonyela and other captains, and annexed the ground to the Lesuto, the Wesleyans withdrew from the stations Imparani, Merumetsu, Umpukani, and Lishuane, retaining between the Orange and the Vaal only Platberg and Thaba Ntshu. The ground on which all these stations were situated, except Thaba Ntshu, had now become part of the Free State. The society requested the volksraad to recognise its right to the land it had once occupied, and was informed in reply that it would receive a title to fifteen hundred morgen around Platberg, and the same extent of ground at any or all of the other places named upon which mission buildings were still standing.

After 1866 the labours of the Wesleyans in this part of South Africa were confined to Thaba Ntshu. Nor were they left alone even in that field, for in May 1865 a missionary of the church of England had gone to reside there, on the invitation of Samuel Moroko, a son of the old chief. Samuel had spent some time at one of the church schools in England, and upon his return commenced efforts to

supplant Tsepinare, the recognised heir to the rulership of the clan. He succeeded in obtaining a number of adherents, and thenceforth the Barolong clan of Moroko was divided into two factions, quarrelling about a form of Christianity and a choice of a future ruler. With these internal dissensions the Free State government did not interfere, as the friendly chief Moroko was regarded and treated as independent. A treaty of alliance with him had been concluded by the president in March 1865, and was confirmed by the volksraad on the 21st of February 1866.

The board of directors of the Paris society rejected the grants of land offered by the volksraad, assigning as reasons that its missionaries were not farmers, and that to dispose of the ground by sale would destroy their influence with the people they were desirous of teaching. That was saying in other words that the Basuto hoped still to recover the ground, and that the missionaries could not be parties to any transaction in which the right of the Free State to it was recognised. These sentiments may be considered natural, even praiseworthy, by mission societies; but where is the nation in Europe that would award compensation for any losses whatever suffered in war by persons making such admissions? Where is the belligerent that would hesitate a single instant in expelling from its territories, or even treating in a much harsher manner, men who make such avowals? Let anyone read the published letters of some of these missionaries, and note how persistently Free State authority was ignored and the ceded territory spoken of as part of the Lesuto. Let such a one then inquire what would have happened to an Italian monk writing similar letters in Alsace just at the close of the Franco-German war, repudiating and denouncing the German authorities, or to a Greek priest in Calcutta at the time of the Indian mutiny, repudiating and abusing the British crown. The cases are identical in principle.

The expulsion of the French missionaries was not inconsistent with the admission by the burghers of the Free

State, as indeed by everyone in South Africa who is acquainted with them and their work, that the unfortunate clergymen were earnest, true, and faithful ministers of the Gospel, that they led irreproachable lives, that their zeal and devotion to duty were unbounded, that they exercised the greatest possible hospitality and kindness to strangers, that in education and refinement they were not excelled by the agents of any other society working in South Africa, and that their teaching had been blessed with a large amount of success. But most of them took the adverse side in national questions, and that so undisguisedly as to render themselves liable to the treatment they received, even had it not been a matter of urgent necessity to prevent Basuto communities from establishing themselves again on the sites of the former mission stations.

Three rows of farms adjoining the new boundary were offered by the volksraad to occupiers under military tenure. From the list of applicants who sent in their names the most suitable were selected, but several delays occurred, and this ground was not actually given out until the 15th of January 1867. Before this time a large part of the remaining land had been sold by public auction, and it was intended that the purchasers should take possession of it on the same date. Nine months had now elapsed since the cessation of hostilities, however, and during that period a great many Basuto squatters had gone in and made gardens. Due notice of the allotment of the farms was given to Moshesh, who was requested to withdraw his subjects in accordance with the second clause of the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, but instead of doing this he sent strong parties of warriors into the district.

The bishop of the English church in the Free State purchased one of the farms with a view of establishing a mission, and then went to see Moshesh, who told him candidly that he would not allow it. A widow who had received a grant of ground went to the great chief to ask if it would be safe to occupy it, when he told her it would not

be. But there is no need of evidence as to what Moshesh's intentions were, or as to who was to blame for what followed, since on the 18th of March 1867 the old chief wrote distinctly to the high commissioner that he did not mean to give up the territory. Great quantities of grain were stored on Thaba Bosigo, the Kieme, Tandjesberg, and Makwai's mountain, all of which were strongly fortified and garrisoned. It was evident to the Europeans that as soon as they were settled a raid would be made upon them, so they hastily retired.

The president then called out an armed burgher force to expel the Basuto from the ceded territory, but gave notice to Moshesh that he need be under no apprehension of an attack, for there was no intention of sending the commandos beyond the boundary. The burgher forces were formed into two divisions, under Chief-Commandants J. I. J. Fick and J. G. Pansegrouw, the first of whom was to conduct operations north of the Caledon, and the last between the Caledon and the Orange. On the twelfth of March 1867 the two commandos entered the ceded territory.

The crops were at the time almost fit for gathering, and it was an object of the utmost importance with the Basuto to preserve the grain. During the previous winter some sections of the tribe had suffered greatly from hunger, though other sections were able to store large quantities of food. It is one of the anomalies of barbarian life that hospitality, which is unlimited towards equals, is not extended towards inferiors. During the winter of 1866 there were chiefs in the Lesuto with abundance of grain, while at no great distance from them common people were literally dying of want, and others were kept alive by the charity of Sir Philip Wodehouse, for whom some of the French missionaries acted as almoners. What remained of the crop of 1866 was now stored in a few mountain fastnesses, and upon the crop of 1867 the people were depending.

The commando under Fick commenced operations in the neighbourhood of Viervoet by destroying some of the

cornfields, and a little later Pansegrouw's division began to do the same. In several places parties of burghers met with resistance, but no pitched battle took place. A few sconces in mountains were taken by storm, and on one of these occasions two Bushmen who had fired poisoned arrows upon the burghers and who were made prisoners were afterwards shot by some miscreant in cold blood. Thereupon several members of the commando demanded an investigation and the punishment of the assassin, but the general feeling of exasperation against the Bushmen was so strong that the evidence obtainable merely served to prove that the officers had given no orders for the perpetration of the crime.

The details of the skirmishing, disarming of little bands of Basuto, destruction of sconces, and cutting down maize and millet, would be neither interesting nor instructive. The only event that calls for special remark has been narrated. The one object of the Basuto chiefs was to save the crops in the ceded territory. To gain that, their plan was not to take the field, but to profess the most abject submission, and to entreat to be taken over as subjects and given ground on which to live. On the 8th of May the volksraad met, and on the 10th in mistaken pity yielded. The suppliants were informed that they could make arrangements to gather the crops with the purchasers of the ground, and a few days later they were received as subjects, and the commandos were withdrawn.

Letsie was the first to be taken over. The great difficulty in his case before had been the Natal debt, and to get over this he informed the volksraad that the Natal government had consented to give him credit for seven years. When making this statement he knew that the falsehood must be detected in a few weeks, but in those few weeks he could complete the storing of his corn, and to be convicted of an untruth had no terror for him. He was not required to move. The district in which he had always lived was assigned to him as a location, and he was thus left with nothing but a nominal line between his people and the other

Basuto. The regulations provided for Molapo's clan were made applicable to him. There were special clauses in the document which he signed when he became a Free State subject, making him responsible for any share of the Natal debt which should be claimed from him. With Letsie were received a great number of petty chiefs, who professed to be his vassals, the most important of whom were Poshuli and Makwai. The last named was then residing on a strongly fortified mountain, but Letsie engaged that he should remove from it within a month.

The arrangements for the establishment of the new reserve were completed on the 22nd of May. The only guarantee of good faith which the government of the Free State demanded was that Letsie should send one of his sons and one of his counsellors to Bloemfontein, to remain there as hostages, and this he undertook to comply with, apparently most cordially. But the hostages sent were in reality men of no rank, and when the object of their chief had been attained, one night they quietly decamped from Bloemfontein.

On the 1st of June Moperi was received in the same manner. A tract of land in Witsi's Hoek was selected as a location for him, with the object of separating his clan from the other Basuto. He was informed that he must move as soon as his crops were harvested, with which intimation he expressed himself satisfied.

With regard to Molitsane, the volksraad empowered the president to purchase a block of farms in the district of Kroonstad, and to locate the Bataung there, so as to remove this restless clan into open ground where it would have less power to do mischief.

On learning that these clans had been received as subjects of the Free State, the high commissioner at once informed the president that in his opinion the republic had also accepted their liabilities. He observed further that "these large acquisitions of territory and population tended to produce such important changes in the political position of

the several powers in this part of Africa as would fully warrant a claim on the part of the British government, should necessity arise, of a right to reconsider the bearings of the convention entered into with the Orange Free State on the 23rd of February 1854." When this letter was made public many citizens of the Free State expressed the belief that they had a more relentless opponent even than old Moshesh. When territory was annexed, the high commissioner expressed an opinion that too much land was taken from the Basuto; when that was met by the adoption as subjects of the greater number of the people who had been living on the annexed ground and by the provision of locations elsewhere for them, he still showed no satisfaction. Did he then desire, they asked each other, that the Basuto power, which had given Great Britain as well as their republic so much trouble, should remain intact, and they for ever be exposed to its violence?

The great want of the Free State at this time was a strong police force, but there was no money to pay one with. In February 1865 the volksraad voted £20,000 for this purpose, but owing to the war the revenue fell off so much that the plan could not be carried into effect. In May 1867 the matter was discussed again, and if it had been possible the volksraad would then have made provision for the enrolment of a strong force, as its urgent need was recognised. The majority of the members, however, saw no means of increasing the revenue, and the project was therefore abandoned.

The crops were harvested and stored in caverns in the mountains, and then the tone of the late suppliants underwent a sudden change. Moshesh denied all knowledge of the cession of land by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, and publicly announced that he would not allow Europeans to settle on it. The Basuto there were instructed not to move, and were informed that if they were attacked help would be sent to them. Masupha with an armed band commenced to plunder far and near. Letsie refused to receive the com-

mandant appointed to reside with him, or to remove Makwai, as he had promised. All disguise was at once cast aside, and Moshesh's tribe was seen to be in perfect readiness for war.

In the middle of June an English itinerant trader named Bush was plundered of all his goods and then murdered by order of a grandson of Molitsane, close to Mekuatling, and consequently on Free State soil. Bush was one of the renegades who assisted Moshesh during the recent war, but he had since returned to civilised habits, and the Bataung looked upon him now as a traitor to them. On this account he had been strongly advised not to place himself again in their power, but with foolhardiness he had rushed on his fate. The murderer fled to Moshesh. The president wrote on the 26th of June demanding his extradition under the sixth clause of the treaty, and received an answer, dated the 9th of July, which was to all intents a declaration of war. In the most impudent, untruthful, and irritating language, Moshesh asserted that he had ceded no territory, that the district in which Bush was murdered was still part of the Lesuto, and that white men had no right to live there without his permission. "Let the Boers know," he added, "that they must remain where they are, in the Free State; there is no other way to keep up peace." This letter, which was in the English language, bore the signature and seal of Moshesh, and purported to have been written by Nehemiah, but there are clear indications of the presence of a European when it was drafted.

Before this letter was received, on the 12th of July tidings reached Bloemfontein that a band of about two hundred Bataung under the sons of Molitsane had appeared on the farm of a young man named Jacobus Krynauw, in the ceded territory, and had murdered the owner of the place in cold blood. A farmer named Abraham van der Walt, with his wife and three children, happened to be on a visit at Krynauw's at the time. Van der Walt was very severely wounded, but he managed to kill two of his assail-

ants and disabled several others. He actually drove the whole band off, and with his family escaped to Thaba Ntshu, where Moroko did all that he could for him, and as soon as possible sent him to Bloemfontein.

It was now clear to every one that another struggle was unavoidable. On the 16th of July 1867 the president called the burghers to arms to clear the ceded territory and compel Moshesh to observe the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. Martial law was proclaimed throughout the state from the 19th, and during its continuance the civil courts were to be closed. The volksraad was summoned to meet in extraordinary session on the 8th of August.

Of all the chiefs subject to Moshesh the only one whose conduct was not openly hostile was Moperi. He had not yet moved to Witsi's Hoek. On the 9th of August the volksraad gave him twenty-four hours notice that if he did not leave with his clan before the expiration of that time, the agreement with him would be cancelled. He had been to inspect the ground, and had been agreeably surprised to find that the location offered him was larger and in every respect better than the one he was required to vacate. In Witsi's Hoek too he would be free of jealous neighbours. He therefore moved, as required, and took no part in the events that followed. A commandant was appointed to live with him, and this officer had no reason to complain of his subsequent conduct. There to the present day the clan of Moperi lives, and it is as prosperous and satisfied as any body of Bantu in South Africa.

The burghers responded to the president's call with a sense of duty equal to that displayed in 1865. Government and citizens alike resolved to spare no sacrifice to place the republic in a position of safety. From all the districts the farmers came marching under their respective commandants, and on the 5th of August two strong brigades entered the disturbed territory. The northern brigade was under Chief-Commandant G. J. Joubert, the southern under Chief-Commandant J. G. Pansegrouw. On the 15th of August the

volksraad authorised a loan of £50,000 from the Bloemfontein bank, at eight per cent per annum interest, to defray the cost of equipping the forces in the field.

The tactics adopted by the Basuto on this occasion were to avoid encountering the burghers in the open field, to pretend to hold the hills but to run away as soon as pressed, and really to defend to the best of their ability the strongly fortified mountains on which their corn was stored. The Free State forces were thus employed for the first six weeks in marching about, securing a few cattle here and there, and driving their opponents from ranges of hills only to find the same places occupied by the same people a few days later. This kind of work was wearisome and harassing, and besides it had no result. A few Basuto were shot, but the strength of the enemy could not be diminished in this way.

On the 25th of September, however, Makwai's mountain, one of the great natural fortresses of the country, was taken by Chief-Commandant Pansegrouw's division. A camp had been formed in its neighbourhood, from which during the night of the 24th three parties set out. The first of these parties consisted of sixty European volunteers and one hundred Fingos under Commandant Ward. It marched to the east end of the mountain. The second, consisting of two hundred burghers under Commandant Jooste, marched to the north side. And the third, two hundred burghers under the chief-commandant himself, marched to the south side.

Under the darkness of night Ward's party crept unmolested up the steep slope, and at daybreak found itself on an extensive tableland with enormous masses of broken rock forming the background. The garrison was taken by surprise, the first intimation of the attack which they received being a volley of bullets. Some cattle were discovered here, and the Fingos at once commenced driving them down. This gave the Basuto an opportunity to rally, and they came on in such force that the volunteers were

obliged to fall back and, after a brief stand, to retire from the mountain.

While the attention of the Basuto was directed to this quarter, Commandant Jooste's men were scaling the northern side. They reached without accident the summit of what may be termed the pedestal, but before them were great rocks fortified with numerous sconces. These they took by storm, one after another. While so engaged, they were strengthened by one hundred men from the chief-commandant's party, who had crept up in the opposite direction. Upon seeing these the Basuto lost all heart and fled, leaving the Free State forces in full possession of the mountain. Large stores of wheat and millet, besides three hundred and fifty head of horned cattle, over five thousand sheep, and sixty-eight horses fell into the hands of the conquerors. At least sixty-seven Basuto were killed. This stronghold was not taken without a considerable number of the captors being wounded, but only one life was lost on the European side.

After the loss of his stronghold Makwai gave up the contest, and with his clan moved over the Drakensberg into Nomansland. Lebenya's clan had already gone there from the Wittebergen reserve, where they had taken refuge after Vechtkop was stormed in 1865. Makwai made peace with Adam Kok, and in nominal vassalage to him settled in the district which now forms the magistracy of Matatiele. Lebenya settled on the land between the Kenigha and Tina rivers, which is now included in the magistracy of Mount Fletcher. From this date they took no further part in hostilities against the Free State, and a very few words will suffice to close acquaintanceship with them. In March 1869 Sir Philip Wodehouse visited Nomansland, and confirmed them in possession of the ground on which they were residing. In 1873 Lebenya and his people at their urgent request were admitted as British subjects, and in the following year Makwai was also taken over. In 1880 the whole of Makwai's clan and part of Lebenya's went into rebellion,

and were driven by the colonial forces from Matatiele and Mount Fletcher back into the Lesuto.

The capture of Makwai's mountain in all probability kept Molapo from joining his father against the Free State. Commandant Frans Holm, who was stationed with him, reported that he was closely watching the course of events, and if the Basuto had been successful at first, he would certainly have cast in his lot with them again. Now, however, he professed to be sitting still, and to be intent only on cultivating his gardens and taking care of his cattle.

Another effect which the capture of this stronghold had was to dishearten a large number of stragglers, people who were refugees from distant parts of the country and who were not by descent attached to any of the fighting chiefs. These people now swarmed into the Wittebergen reserve, where they were under British protection. The Free State armies had thus fewer foes to contend with.

A garrison was placed on the stronghold to prevent its being occupied again, and the commando then resumed the drudgery of patrolling the country. The Basuto on their part adhered to their former tactics. Letsie with a strong garrison was on the Kieme, a mountain second only in strength to Thaba Bosigo. Poshuli in like manner was holding Tandjesberg. Masupha and Molitsane were watching for an opportunity to fall upon any defenceless households on the border, and kept Chief-Commandant Joubert fully employed in marching from one place to another, and then back again. In anticipation that by these means the Free State forces would soon be worn out, the Basuto were placing a very large part of the ceded territory under cultivation. A commando would hardly leave a valley before swarms of men and women, issuing from the mountains, were engaged in hoeing the ground and planting maize and millet. To prevent this a force five times as great as that the Free State could put into the field would have been required. Sentinels on every hill gave notice of

the approach of the burghers, who soon found that their only chance of meeting the enemy was by quick and stealthy night marches.

In this condition of warfare it sometimes happened that women and children lost their lives, and for this the Free State forces have been severely blamed. But no one has as yet devised a plan by which hostilities with a people like the Basuto can be carried on without such casualties. Even in the sconces and fortified caves, men, women, and children were mixed together. Such places could not be attacked without peril to those who in civilised countries are regarded as non-combatants, and surely it would be absurd to say that they should have been passed by because there were women and children in them. In some instances the Basuto warriors actually shielded themselves behind women.

A man who did much to misrepresent matters in Europe, as well as to encourage the Basuto to pursue a line of conduct that tended directly to ruin, must now be introduced to the reader. His name was David Dale Buchanan. Since February 1846 he had been editor of the *Natal Witness*, and as he was an advocate of the supreme court of that colony, had once been a member of the legislative council, and even acted for a short time as attorney-general, his statements were received abroad with considerable attention. In South Africa his influence was limited to a very small and constantly changing circle, owing to his intense vanity and fractiousness. Mr. Buchanan seems to have considered that an opportunity to distinguish himself was afforded by the strife between the Free State and the Basuto. In February 1867 he announced his intention of becoming the champion of the Basuto, by writing to the colonial secretary of Natal inquiring "if the government would consider the importation of arms and ammunition and the introduction of a few experienced gunners at variance with any treaty." From that date he became the legal adviser of the Basuto chiefs, and took an active part in the negotiations between them and the authorities of Natal.

While the desultory warfare which has been described was being carried on, events were leading towards an intervention by Sir Philip Wodehouse in the most decisive manner. The various overtures which had been made by Moshesh from time to time to be taken under British protection had been productive of no result, but he still persevered in his efforts. In August 1867 Makotoko, the old chief's nephew and confidential messenger, was sent by Moshesh and Letsie to Natal to urge "that they and their people and their country might be received by and be made to belong to Her Majesty the Queen of England, and be attached to the colony of Natal; to occupy the same position with regard to the government of Natal, and to pay the same taxes as the native chiefs and tribes already living in Natal, and to be presided over by a magistrate or other officer appointed by the government of Natal to live for that purpose in Basutoland." If this should not be conceded, Makotoko was to ask that the British government should "not supply arms and ammunition to one side and withhold them from the other, but let both have an equal chance, and if the Basuto must perish, let them perish defending themselves with means to procure which they should be allowed the same facilities as their enemies from a neutral source."

Language like this is apt to mislead people at a distance, and to create sympathy in those who know nothing of the circumstances under which it is used. It would be appropriate in the mouth of a chief defending the hereditary possessions of himself and his tribe against unprovoked aggression. But it came with bad grace from Moshesh and Letsie, whose want of honesty was the cause of all the trouble, and who could have secured peace at any time by simply fulfilling their engagements.

Sir Philip Wodehouse, to whom this matter was referred, had for a long time advocated the adoption of the Basuto as British subjects, and he now—17th of September 1867—wrote again to the imperial government to that effect, but recommending that they should be placed under the control

of the governor of the Cape Colony as high commissioner rather than under that of the Natal government. The duke of Buckingham and Chandos had recently succeeded Lord Carnarvon as secretary of state for the colonies. On the 9th of December he replied to Sir Philip Wodehouse in the following terms:

"Her Majesty's government have had under their careful consideration the repeated offers made by the chief Moshesh that he and his people, with their territory, should be received under the authority of the Queen. . . . Her Majesty's government consider that the residence of a British agent with Moshesh would not accomplish a permanent settlement of the difficulties which have to be met, while it might embarrass our relations with independent native tribes and the Free State; and they have therefore come to the conclusion that the peace and welfare of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa would be best promoted by accepting the overtures made by that chief.

"If Her Majesty's government had merely entertained the question of a closer alliance with the Basuto by the appointment of a British agent, or by some other means not involving sovereign rights, it would have been right that the tribe should continue to be under the control of the governor of the Cape Colony in his capacity of high commissioner; but as their recognition as British subjects, and the incorporation of their territory, are now the matters under consideration, Her Majesty's government have to decide in what manner these important measures can be best carried into effect, and they feel no doubt that the best and most obvious arrangement would be the annexation of Basutoland to the colony of Natal. . . .

"Assuming therefore that the legislature of Natal, as Her Majesty's government have reason to anticipate, will readily acquiesce in such a measure, they authorise you, whenever a fitting opportunity may occur, to treat with the chief Moshesh for the recognition of himself and of his tribe as British subjects, and for the incorporation of their territory with Natal on the general conditions stated.

"It is not improbable that the Orange Free State would be glad to see a new order of things established which would give them freedom from the depredations of the Basuto; and while leaving to your discretion the time and manner of accomplishing this measure, and the terms in which you will communicate with the Free State on the subject, Her Majesty's government would only impress upon you the importance of including a settlement of the boundaries between the Free State and Basutoland as an integral part of the arrangement."

As soon as the above despatch reached South Africa, the high commissioner communicated with President Brand and

Moshesh—13th of January 1868—informing them of the power placed in his hands, and announcing that he intended to make use of it. To each he recommended a suspension of hostilities, and stated that he would visit the Lesuto about the end of March or beginning of April to make the necessary arrangements.

The reply of Moshesh was full of thanks and protestations of loyalty. The president, in his answer—dated 31st of January 1868—after recapitulating the events that led to the war, informed the high commissioner that he thought "it would be unsafe to suspend hostilities against the Basuto at the moment that the object of the war was nearly accomplished, and when the arms of the republic were, under God's blessing, everywhere successful, trusting merely to the good faith and the inclination and power of Moshesh to make his people comply with the treaty of Thaba Bosigo." He had therefore written to Moshesh that the war would be prosecuted with vigour until the murderers of Bush and Krynauw were delivered to the Free State and the annexed territory cleared of the Basuto. As the second article of the convention of the 23rd of February 1854 stated that her Majesty's government had no wish or intention to enter thereafter into any treaties to the north of the Orange river which might be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Free State, the communication that Moshesh and his tribe were in all probability about to become subjects of the British crown had taken him quite by surprise. He regretted that he could not coincide in his Excellency's opinion that the course proposed would tend to the future general peace of South Africa. And as the interest and welfare of the Free State would be so seriously affected by it, he had convened the volksraad to meet in extraordinary session on the 21st of March.

The president's statement of the recent successes of the Free State arms was correct. The northern commando had succeeded in depriving the enemy of a large quantity of grain and a considerable number of cattle, it had burnt

several kraals and destroyed extensive fortifications at Platberg, the Berea, Koranaberg, and other places. The southern commando had met with like success in the districts along the Orange river and about the Koesberg. And, more than all this, on the 28th of January, only three days before the letter was written, Tandjesberg had been taken by storm by Chief-Commandant Pansegrouw.

This stronghold was attacked in the same way as Makwai's mountain. Commandant Van der Merwe with the Faure-smith burghers was sent to make a feint at the north-eastern point while Commandant Jooste with a strong detachment crept up the south-western extremity. An hour before daybreak Van der Merwe, under a heavy fire of cannon, pretended to storm the mountain, his burghers keeping up a continual discharge of rifles, but not exposing themselves unnecessarily. The ruse succeeded. Poshuli's men were drawn towards the threatened point, and Jooste seized the opportunity to climb up to the top of the great mound. The rocks there were full of sconces, the first of which was in possession of the burghers before the enemy was aware of what was taking place.

Even then the position of Poshuli's men would have been impregnable if they had not lost heart. In some places the burghers had to scale steep rocks to attack the sconces, but in their enthusiasm they surmounted every obstacle, and early in the morning they were in full possession of the stronghold, from which the Basuto fled in a panic. Though only six burghers were wounded, the conquerors counted one hundred and twenty-six dead bodies of their enemies. How many more Basuto were killed and how many were wounded cannot be stated with accuracy, but the number of the latter was very considerable. The movable spoil consisted of one hundred and six horses, one hundred and forty head of horned cattle, one thousand and seventy sheep, and a very large quantity of grain.

Among those who fell at Tandjesberg was Moshesh's brother Poshuli, the most renowned robber captain in South

Africa. He was wounded in the leg, and was endeavouring to get away with the assistance of one of his sons and two or three of his counsellors, when he found himself exposed to a fire of musketry from the front. To lighten himself he unbuckled his ammunition pouch and gave it with his rifle to his son. The party then tried to escape into the gorge leading down the mountain, but they had only proceeded a few paces when a ball entered between Poshuli's shoulders and passed through his chest, killing him instantly. His son and counsellors managed to conceal the body in a cave until nightfall, when they carried it away for burial. In the engagement one of the inferior half brothers of Moshesh also fell, and two of Poshuli's sons of minor rank were wounded.

The loss of Tandjesberg was considered by the Basuto the severest blow they had received since the formation of the tribe by Moshesh. From its fall the cry of the old chief to the high commissioner was earnest and unceasing, to come quickly or it would be too late. The burghers were in a corresponding degree inspirited. The young corn was now so far grown that it could be easily destroyed, and they were doing their utmost to cut it down. Their hope was strong that with a little further exertion Moshesh's power would be broken, and the tribe which had so long menaced their very existence be scattered in fragments too weak to be dangerous.

Sir Philip Wodehouse, on finding that President Brand's government did not cease hostilities, issued directions that no ammunition should be permitted to be removed from any of the colonial ports to the Free State without his authority. But while acting in this decided manner, his language to the president was more friendly and conciliatory than it had ever been before. He pointed out that "if a fair understanding could be arrived at, the British authorities would be bound to maintain a due control over their own subjects, and the people of the Free State would thus be left to enjoy in peace, and without any extraordinary effort on their part,

the lands they had hitherto held on such unprofitable terms." He was seeking, he said, the welfare of the Free State quite as much as that of the Basuto. He could not forget that its people were all but a few years before, as many of them still were, British subjects; that they were the near kinsmen of the people of the Cape Colony; and that any misfortunes that befell them must to a great extent be shared by the colonists. He therefore still allowed himself to hope that he might gain the assent of the Free State government to his proposals, and that by consenting to suspend hostilities with a view to negotiation, that government would prevent further unnecessary sacrifice of human life.

On the 22nd of February another great success was achieved by Chief-Commandant Pansegrouw's brigade. Before daylight that morning the same tactics that had been successful at Makwai's mountain and Tandjesberg were employed against the Kieme, the stronghold of Letsie. Pansegrouw himself with one hundred burghers made the feint on this occasion. Letsie was at the time on a visit to Thaba Bosigo, and Lerothodi, his eldest son, was in command of the garrison. The Basuto collected to resist the supposed attack, when Commandant Jooste with four hundred and eighty burghers and eighty European volunteers scaled the mountain in another direction. Most of the sconces were taken, but several of the strongest were left unattacked, as they were so situated that to storm them would cost a great loss of life, without any advantage. The Basuto in them were practically shut up, and in course of time would be obliged to surrender. One burgher was wounded, and some thirty Basuto were killed. The spoil taken consisted of seven hundred and twenty horses, seven thousand six hundred and thirty-six head of horned cattle, fourteen thousand four hundred sheep, one cannon, and a quantity of grain.

For some time now the Basuto had only been kept together by the encouragement given by Sir Philip Wodehouse, who was anxious to prevent them from crowding into

the colony in a state of destitution. When intelligence of the capture of the Kieme reached Capetown, the high commissioner recognised that if the tribe was to be preserved intact no time must be lost in placing it under British protection. Accordingly Sir Walter Currie, commandant of the frontier armed and mounted police, was directed to mass as many of his men as possible on the border, and as soon as that could be done a proclamation was issued by Sir Philip Wodehouse:

"Whereas, with a view to the restoration of peace and the future maintenance of tranquillity and good government on the north-eastern border of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to comply with the request made by Moshesh, the paramount chief, and other headmen of the tribe of the Basuto, that the said tribe may be admitted into the allegiance of Her Majesty; and whereas Her Majesty has been further pleased to authorise me to take the necessary steps for giving effect to her pleasure in the matter:

"Now, therefore, I do hereby proclaim and declare that from and after the publication hereof the said tribe of the Basuto shall be, and shall be taken to be, for all intents and purposes, British subjects; and the territory of the said tribe shall be, and shall be taken to be, British territory. And I hereby require all Her Majesty's subjects in South Africa to take notice of this my proclamation accordingly."

CHAPTER LXII.

EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE LESUTO FROM MARCH 1868 TO APRIL 1870.

THE proclamation by which the Basuto became British subjects and their country British territory was dated on the 12th of March 1868, and was published on the following day. It indicated a great change in public opinion in England, and a complete reversal of the previous policy of the imperial government regarding South Africa. The abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854 had been viewed with alarm by all those colonists who were attached to the British empire, and of late years a feeling almost of dismay had been created by the similar abandonment of the vacant Transkeian territory through fear of expense and danger of conflict with Bantu tribes. One of the fairest opportunities ever offered for legitimate settlement of white people in the country was thrown away, with the result that the Cape Colony has already had to bear the expense of two wars, and is left weaker than it might have been for all time to come. A policy that could lead to such disastrous consequences, which it needed little penetration on the part of colonists to foresee, was therefore most unpopular in this country, and there would have been general rejoicing if it had been reversed in some way not savouring of partiality towards black people. But in this matter of accepting the Basuto as British subjects, most men believed that the policy of the imperial government had been reversed only to prevent a perfidious tribe from being punished as it deserved to be.

On the other hand a small section of the community, confined almost exclusively to men engaged in commerce, maintained that the act of Sir Philip Wodehouse was necessary in the general interests of the country and was by no means an unfriendly one towards the Free State. It was pointed out that Thaba Bosigo was not yet taken, and it was argued that the Basuto tribe, even if conquered, could not be kept in control by its exhausted opponent. Statistics were brought forward to show how exhausted that opponent must be. The ordinary revenue of the Free State was only £56,000 per annum, its ordinary expenditure was £55,000, and its public debt was £50,000 to the Bloemfontein bank, £39,000 still in circulation in notes out of the issue of £43,000, and outstanding accounts amounting to £16,000: in all £105,000. The people were so impoverished by the war that further taxation was impossible. There were no means of raising a loan, for there was nothing to pledge as security for payment. The whole of the public buildings in the country were worth only £10,000. There were government notes to the amount of £126,000 in circulation—£30,000 lent to the Bloemfontein bank, £57,000 lent to farmers, the balance part of the debt—and £5 in notes had only the purchasing power of £3 in gold. The imports during the war were at the rate of £300,000 yearly, and the exports only at the rate of £265,000, thus leaving a balance of trade against the state of £35,000 per annum. No less a sum than £650,000 was due by traders and farmers of the state to the Standard bank, merchants of Port Elizabeth, and others in the Cape Colony, while the courts were closed for the hearing of civil cases on account of the war.

To all these figures the reply of the other party was that the Free State did not admit that it was exhausted, it was prepared to continue to the end a struggle which it had nearly brought to a successful conclusion, and would take good care to make such terms as would prevent the Basuto from again breaking the peace. This controversy was main-

tained for some months, and only gradually lost the bitterness with which it was at first carried on.

The proclamation laid down no limits for the Lesuto, nor did it define clearly what people were annexed. The followers of Moperi, living in Witsi's Hoek, were unquestionably Basuto. So were the clans under Molapo, living between the Putiatsana and the Caledon, and the adherents of Jan Letele, living in the district of Smithfield. All these were Free State subjects, but they might, or might not, be included in the proclamation, just as one should interpret it.

On the 14th of March a commission was issued to Sir Walter Currie, commandant of the frontier armed and mounted police, appointing him agent for the high commissioner in Basutoland. He was instructed to lose no time in proceeding to the assistance of the Basuto with the whole available police force, which had been assembled for that purpose in the Wittebergen reserve. At the same time the high commissioner wrote to Moshesh and to President Brand, informing them of the proclamation. To the president he added that he entertained the strongest desire of communicating unreservedly, with a view to the satisfactory settlement of affairs.

On the 23rd of March Sir Walter Currie with the police crossed the Orange and entered the Lesuto. He was desirous of proceeding at once to Thaba Bosigo, but was unable to get guides or assistance of any kind, as the people of that part of the country were ignorant of the negotiations between the high commissioner and Moshesh, and were suspicious of the police. Sir Walter therefore called upon Mr. Austen, superintendent of the reserve, for assistance. That officer at once repaired to the camp, and sent out messengers in all directions with intelligence that the police had come to assist the Basuto. He also engaged a son of Morosi and ten men from the reserve to accompany the commandant to Thaba Bosigo.

On the 26th Sir Walter arrived at Moshesh's headquarters, and was received with every demonstration of joy

by the old chief and the people about him. Upon the proclamation being read they all rose up and gave three cheers for the Queen, Moshesh himself being greatly excited. A notification was immediately sent by the high commissioner's agent to the various commandants of the Free State forces in the field, informing them that he had directed the chiefs to cease all aggressive movements, and that it would be his duty to assist and support the Basuto if hostilities should be continued against them. He then formed a camp at Korokoro, about ten miles or sixteen kilometres south of Thaba Bosigo and five kilometres east of the Kieme, where he awaited the course of events.

As soon as President Brand received notice of the proclamation he issued instructions to the officers of the Free State forces under no circumstances to cross the boundary fixed by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. They were to remain within the ceded territory and guard it against encroachments by the Basuto, and should British troops or the colonial police appear there, they were to protest formally, but to offer no resistance.

On the 21st of March the volksraad met, when a long and earnest discussion took place upon the high commissioner's proceedings. The views entertained by the members were that the Free State had been unjustly and ungenerously dealt with. Unjustly, inasmuch as the convention of 1854 had been violated by the reception of the Basuto as British subjects and by the prohibition of the sale of ammunition to the republic by merchants in the colony. Ungenerously, inasmuch as the little state, which had been thrown upon its own resources by England owing solely to the difficulty of dealing with the Basuto, had made enormous sacrifices to punish the disturber of the peace of South Africa, and was therefore entitled to the sympathy of her Majesty's government.

One after another the members reviewed the relationship between the whites and the Basuto from the time of the proclamation of the queen's sovereignty by Sir Harry Smith

to this act of Sir Philip Wodehouse. They denounced in bitter terms the misrepresentation of events which they alleged was constantly made in England by a party that under all circumstances maintained the innocence and integrity of the blacks, while the statements of the whites were unheard or unheeded. They declared their apprehension that English rule in Basutoland would bring about a repetition of the evils under which the country suffered in the time of Major Warden, for they believed it would not be supported by any strong physical force, and while the border would be subject to continual devastation by bands of robbers, the farmers would be prevented from following up and punishing thieves by fear that the English government might consider such conduct towards British subjects as hostile towards itself.

Holding such views, on the 24th of March the volksraad directed the president to protest to the imperial government in the most positive and emphatic manner against the recent acts of the high commissioner, and to inform his Excellency that they could not appoint delegates to enter into any negotiations based upon a violation of the convention of 1854. It was resolved to send a deputation to England to confer directly with the imperial government.

Meantime the high commissioner had left Capetown to visit the Lesuto. On the 27th of March he was at Colesberg, from which place he addressed a letter to President Brand, proposing terms of settlement. These terms were that the boundary of Basutoland should be that fixed by Sir George Grey in 1858 and by himself in 1864; that along the Basuto side of the line he would cause three hundred farms of fifteen hundred morgen each to be sold, and pay the proceeds to the Free State government; or that he would grant titles on quitrent to nominees of the Free State government for the same number of farms.

This proposal, if accepted, would thus have placed a belt of Europeans under English rule between the Free State and the portion of the Lesuto reserved for the people of

Moshesh, and would have been a tolerable guarantee against such a condition of affairs on the border as the members of the volksraad dreaded. It would have taken from the Free State the whole of the land ceded to it by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo — inclusive of the district occupied by Molapo,—would have restored four-sevenths of that land to the Basuto, and would have given to the Free State in return the proceeds of the sale of three hundred farms.

The president declined the proposal. He replied that, apart from all other considerations, many grants of farms had been made in the ceded district; land had been sold, resold, and transferred in it; part of it was pledged as security for money borrowed by the state; and sites for villages had been surveyed in it, the erven of one of which —Wepener, close to Jammerberg Drift on the Caledon— had been allotted in October 1867; so that the Free State government would be laying itself open to endless claims and complications by acceding to the proposal. He desired instead that the high commissioner would restrain the Basuto within the boundary fixed by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, until the result of the protest about to be forwarded to the imperial government should be known.

On the 30th of March the high commissioner reached Aliwal North. From this place he addressed the president, calling his attention to the fact that the courts of the Free State had been closed for the hearing of civil cases during the continuance of the war, and maintaining that this was a violation of the convention. He asserted further that the employment of British subjects under the conditions offered by the Free State was an unfriendly act, and tended to set at naught the neutrality proclamation.

The president replied, explaining that the civil courts were necessarily closed while the burghers were in the field, and citing precedents in the recent history of the Cape Colony. He claimed that the Free State had respected the neutrality proclamation, and denied that the employment of English residents who offered their services in war was unfriendly

towards the British government. He offered to guarantee that no molestation should be made across the boundary according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, if his Excellency would do the same from the other side.

The high commissioner answered that he would be unable to restrain the Basuto within these limits, as the country left to them by the treaty was too small for their maintenance. He then withdrew his former offer, but professed himself still willing to enter into negotiations. In a subsequent letter, written at the police camp at Korokoro on the 14th of April, he proposed that pending the negotiations with her Majesty's government a temporary boundary should be agreed upon and molestation from either side prohibited. For this purpose he proposed the line which is at present the boundary between the Orange and the Caledon, and across the last named river a line which would restore to the Basuto a triangular block of ground of no very great extent, but which contained the French mission stations of Mekuatling and Mabolela.

This proposal contained no reference to Molapo by name, but, if accepted, it would have deprived the Free State of its claim to authority over him and his clan. In making it, the high commissioner had the line he named in view as the future boundary of Basutoland, for he had already come to the conclusion that it would be a fair division between the contending parties. The president, however, declined to agree to it.

By this time Sir Philip Wodehouse had made himself acquainted with the actual condition of affairs around him. The war had entailed great losses, and had disorganised society everywhere. The tribe seemed ready to break up into a hundred fragments. There was a great deal of sickness among the people, owing to want of food and shelter by the clans that had been most exposed. It was believed that some of them had resorted again to cannibalism, but Europeans could not then ascertain whether this was correct or not. Four months later the rumour was proved to be

true. In July Mr. J. H. Bowker was shown a cave, of which he wrote to the high commissioner that the floor and the open space in front were so covered with human bones, chiefly of young people, that he could have loaded a waggon with them in a short time; all of the skulls were broken; and though some of the bones were apparently many years old, others had been cooked quite recently.

But though some sections of the tribe were reduced to the direst distress, others had hardly suffered at all. Several of the leading chiefs had lost very little of their personal property. Their cattle were safe in the mountains, and with them there was no scarcity of food. Inside the limits of the Lesuto according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo there were enormous crops of corn ready for gathering, while in the country of Molapo, between the Putiatsana and the Caledon, every valley was a corn-field. The Cape police were purchasing then, as they did for many months afterwards, as much millet as they needed at twelve shillings a muid.

Molapo, so far from being a contented and peaceable subject of the Free State as the president at an earlier date supposed, had already welcomed the high commissioner's agent and expressed a desire to come under British protection. He had informed Sir Walter Currie that the reason why he had taken no part in the recent hostilities was an understanding between his father and himself that his people should merely pretend to be peaceful, so as to grow abundance of food and protect the cattle of the tribe; but they had intended to join their kinsmen against the Free State whenever it could be done with a prospect of success. He had brought a present of cattle for the use of the police, had written to the president throwing off his allegiance, and had set at defiance the Free State commandant who resided with him.

Moperi had also communicated with the high commissioner's agent, and had expressed a wish to be reunited to the remainder of the tribe and be taken under British

protection. But he was unwilling to give up his location in Witsi's Hoek and return to the Lesuto.

In the territory ceded by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, the Free State forces held most of the strong places, but had not succeeded in entirely expelling the Basuto. These, however, had no powder left, and did not venture to meet their opponents in the open field.

On the 15th of April a great meeting took place at Thaba Bosigo. With Sir Philip Wodehouse were Mr. Keate, lieutenant-governor of Natal, Mr. Shepstone, secretary for native affairs in Natal, Sir Walter Currie, commandant of the frontier police and high commissioner's agent in Basutoland, and several other officers and attendants. The reverend Mr. Daniel, who had accompanied the high commissioner from Aliwal North, acted as interpreter. The old chief Moshesh was there with his sons, counsellors, and most of the leading men of the tribe, all deeply anxious to learn what the great power whose aid they had invoked intended to do for them.

The high commissioner stated that in order to carry on the government of the country three or four British officers would be appointed, but that the customs of the people would not be interfered with more than was necessary. As soon as negotiations with the Free State were concluded the Lesuto would be annexed to Natal, according to the wish expressed by Moshesh and the instructions of the imperial government. The Basuto must not expect to have the whole of the territory within the boundaries of 1858 restored to them, but he would endeavour to recover sufficient ground for their comfortable subsistence outside of the limits assigned by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. They must be prepared to pay annually a tax of ten shillings for each occupied hut in the country.

Their subsequent conduct proves that the high commissioner's address gave very little real satisfaction to the Basuto chiefs, nevertheless they were profuse in thanks for what he had done and intended to do for them. The hut-

tax, they promised, should be regularly paid as soon as peace should be restored. To one point only did they make objection. They did not wish the Lesuto annexed to Natal, for that was a country of which they knew very little, while with the Cape Colony they had been acquainted since the time when Sir George Napier was governor. Further than this they had little to say, except that they would consult together and Moshesh would inform the high commissioner of the result.

Within a few days letters were written in the name of the chief, asking that the Lesuto might be declared a reserve, that is that it should be kept for the use of black people only, and Europeans be prevented from holding land in it; that it might remain distinct from both the Cape Colony and Natal, and be dependent upon the high commissioner alone; but that if it must be joined to one of these colonies the Basuto would prefer the Cape, as they knew its customs from having had trading transactions with it for many years. The high commissioner was also requested to receive Moperi as a British subject, and claim was laid to Witsi's Hoek, where Moperi lived, as being part of the Lesuto. Nehemiah at the same time wrote asking leave to return to Matatiele and that a British agent might be appointed to reside there with him.

What the Basuto chiefs really wanted was to be protected from their enemies, to exist with their people as a separate and compact tribe, to have space for great expansion, and to surrender no more authority than was unavoidable.

The claim of Moshesh to Witsi's Hoek as a portion of the Lesuto rested on a similar foundation to his claim to so much ground elsewhere, that it had been occupied for several years by the Bakolokwe, who had since become his subjects; but Sir Philip Wodehouse took no notice of it. In the early years of the century that tract of land was in possession of the Batlokua. Sikonyela, Moshesh's bitterest enemy, would have inherited it if he had not been driven away by invaders from the coast region. Under the

Sovereignty, Major Warden gave out farms in it without Sikonyela or his people making any objection. At that time the greater part of it was occupied by the Bakolokwe under Witsi, from whom it was afterwards taken by Free State forces under Mr. J. M. Orpen, landdrost of Winburg. Thus Moshesh's conquest of Sikonyela gave him no right to Witsi's Hoek.

Sir Philip Wodehouse remained in the Lesuto until the 28th of April, but could do nothing towards the pacification of the country. In the ceded territory skirmishing continued as before the issue of the proclamation, though military operations on a large scale were no longer conducted. Trading operations, however, were renewed to some extent.

As soon as the high commissioner left, a spirit of dissatisfaction manifested itself, resting on the disappointment of the chiefs that the boundaries of 1858 had not been restored and that peace had not been the immediate result of their adoption as British subjects. The lieutenant-governor and secretary for native affairs of Natal were accompanied by a number of Bantu attendants from that colony, and these managed to instil into the minds of the Basuto that if their country was annexed to Natal a force of ten thousand warriors would at once be sent to aid them in driving back the Free State people. Hereupon Molapo became openly a warm advocate of annexation to Natal, and several other leading chiefs, including Moshesh himself, were suspected of secretly holding the same views.

At this juncture Sir Walter Currie was replaced as high commissioner's agent by Mr. James Henry Bowker, the officer next in rank in the frontier police, and the greater number of the police were withdrawn from the Lesuto and returned to their duties on the colonial border.

The protest of the Free State against the reception of the Basuto as British subjects and against the stoppage of ammunition was submitted to Lord Stanley, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, who referred it to the duke of Buckingham and Chandos, secretary of state for the colonies,

on the ground that it was not expedient to deal with the republics in South Africa through the foreign office.

The Free State delegates—the reverend Mr. Van de Wall and Mr. C. J. de Villiers—were received by the duke of Buckingham at the colonial office. They first requested that the proclamation of Sir Philip Wodehouse should be withdrawn, and the Free State be left alone to make terms with the Basuto. This was refused, and they then asked that an impartial commission should be sent from England to examine the case on the spot. This also was declined, and the delegates were informed that the queen's government would not withdraw the negotiations from the high commissioner and would only correspond with the president through him.

This action was in accordance with precedents, but it is doubtful whether the duke of Buckingham would not have made some concessions on this occasion if it had not been for the attitude of Sir Philip Wodehouse, for he had already informed the high commissioner that he thought his proceeding in proclaiming Basutoland British territory, without the previous acquiescence of the legislature of Natal, was in excess of the authority conferred upon him. Sir Philip had requested that the delegates should be referred back to him, and that the negotiations should be left in his hands, asking that he might be relieved if he was not permitted to carry out his own views. The secretary of state, fearing further complications, left the matter entirely to the high commissioner, agreed to the scheme which he advocated of governing the country for a time by an agent without annexation to either colony, and extended Sir Philip Wodehouse's term of office to enable him to bring the affair to a conclusion.

All this time a lengthy correspondence was being carried on between the high commissioner and the president of the Free State, but without any result.

On the 7th of May the volksraad resolved that the high commissioner should be asked if he would adhere to the boundary according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo until the

result of the deputation to England should be known, or, failing that, if he would agree to some other line as a temporary measure, and guarantee to restore the land beyond it cleared and unoccupied in case the final decision should be that the Free State was entitled to it.

The high commissioner replied that he could not enter into any guarantee of the kind, that he wished to fix the temporary line as nearly as possible where the final line must be, and again proposed the old boundary with a belt of farms under the British government behind it. As the Free State government was complaining bitterly of the thefts to which its subjects were exposed by Basuto raids from beyond the Thaba Bosigo line, which its forces could not check, the high commissioner called the president's attention to the fact that stealing had not always been confined to one party in the strife, and referred to the report of the commission in 1861, in which the thefts by Jan Letele's followers from the Basuto of Moshesh were stated to have been in excess of those by the Basuto of Moshesh from the residents in the Smithfield district.

The volksraad rejected the high commissioner's proposal, and determined to await the result of the deputation to England. The correspondence was then continued on the questions of the thieving, which Sir Philip Wodehouse would do nothing to prevent until some settlement should be arrived at, and of charges brought by Moshesh against the burgher commandos of gross ill-treatment of Basuto women, which were investigated and disproved.

Mr. Bowker, as high commissioner's agent, found himself in the midst of intrigues, without any material force to rely upon. An analysis of their conduct showed him that there was not a chief among them all whose professions were of any worth.

As for old Moshesh, of the abilities for which he had once been so distinguished he retained very little more than his craftiness. He was feeble with age, and loved to talk for hours of the deeds of his youth and his prime, but could

not be kept steadfast to any present purpose. At one time he seemed to be in favour of the annexation of his country to Natal, in expectation of receiving strong reinforcements from that colony; then he spoke of renewing negotiations himself with the Free State, as the high commissioner's interference had not resulted in immediate peace; again, he expressed himself satisfied with what Sir Philip Wodehouse was doing, and desirous that the Lesuto should remain a reserve under the direction of the high commissioner.

Letsie was the one most to be depended upon, because he was the one who had most to gain from British protection. Molapo was doing all in his power to induce the tribe to throw in its lot with Natal, and openly applied to Mr. Shepstone, secretary for native affairs in that colony, to appoint an agent to reside with him. Masupha held himself aloof from the high commissioner's agent, and was known to be directing such skirmishing operations as were being carried on. Morosi was the head of a gang of thieves who were plundering the people in the Wittebergen reserve and the colonial districts beyond. The minor chiefs were scheming, each in order to secure something for himself at the expense of others.

As time wore on and no settlement was attained, many of the Basuto came to the conclusion that they had gained nothing by becoming British subjects. Some began even to suspect that the few police in the country were there to aid the Free State rather than them. Two or three discharged policemen took service in one of the Free State commandos, and were recognised there by Basuto spies, a circumstance which created so much suspicion that it was with difficulty Mr. Bowker could satisfy the chiefs that he was not responsible for their conduct.

Another event which increased this feeling of disaffection was the arrest by Mr. Austen, superintendent of the Wittebergen reserve, of Sekwati, son of the late chief Poshuli, on a charge of theft. In former years there had been living in the reserve a troublesome Hlubi headman named Josana

(son of Mini, third son of Umpangazita), whose misconduct at length necessitated his expulsion. He and his people then crossed over to the Free State side of the river, and during the war he took service under Commandant Webster. He was thus a declared enemy of the Basuto, and subject to be attacked. Some people of the reserve had sent their cattle to Josana's new location, where the pasturage was good, and placed them under his charge; while there they were swept off by Basuto raiders under Sekwati, but the owners, having joined Josana's people, followed the Basuto and retook their stock. Sekwati then carried off some horses from the reserve, when he was pursued by Mr. Austen, who arrested him and two of his followers. Twenty guns were taken from his other attendants. The robbers were sent by Mr. Austen to the prison at Aliwal North, and the preliminary steps were taken for their prosecution.

At once there was great excitement throughout the Lesuto, for the people maintained that Mr. Austen was taking the part of Josana against them, and had subjected to indignity a chief of such high rank as the son of Poshuli. Mr. Bowker found it necessary to urge the immediate release of the prisoners and the restoration of the guns. Mr. Austen declined, and the high commissioner was appealed to. The difficulty was surmounted by the release of Sekwati and his followers, after a confinement of over a month, on the grounds that they had been arrested in Basutoland and that it was uncertain whether the horses they were charged with stealing had not been taken from the Free State side of the river.

There was no attempt made to enforce authority, or to secure the observance of any law, English or Basuto. The most that was attempted by the high commissioner was to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquor in the country. The chiefs did each as he saw fit. Moroko had taken no part in the hostilities between the Free State and the Basuto since the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, nevertheless Masupha attacked him and carried off three thousand head of horned cattle

and nine thousand sheep. The followers of the same chief next plundered the waggon of an English trader who ventured to enter the Lesuto without their leave. Skirmishes with the Free State forces were frequent. In one of these, Lerothodi, Bereng, and a third son of Letsie were severely wounded, and a minor brother of these chiefs was killed.

While all was thus in confusion and the bond that united the Lesuto to the British empire was liable to be snapped at any moment, the Natal government was putting forth strenuous efforts to secure its annexation to that colony. On the 31st of July the legislative council passed a resolution that in the opinion of that house such annexation was highly desirable, "provided it be understood that it is not to remain purely a native colony, but that certain portions of the land be made available for white settlers; and provided also that such revenue be raised from it as shall render it at least self-supporting." Lieutenant-Governor Keate thereupon wrote to the secretary of state, urging that the boundary of 1864 should be adhered to, and that in addition Witsi's Hoek, which he asserted had always been Basuto territory, should be taken over, and the whole be incorporated with Natal. The addition of Witsi's Hoek would make communication easy and unbroken between all parts of the country from the Free State border to the sea.

A few days after this dispatch was written by Mr. Keate, the mail reached Capetown with the secretary of state's authority for the high commissioner to deal with the question as he should think best. Sir Philip Wodehouse immediately communicated this information to President Brand, and invited him to offer terms for discussion, to which the president replied that he must await the report of Messrs. Van de Wall and De Villiers. It was the middle of December before the result of the meeting of the delegates with the secretary of state was officially known, when the high commissioner again wrote stating that he would be at Aliwal

North not later than the 1st of February 1869, and hoped to find the president willing to enter into negotiations.

The Free State government then realised how entirely it was at Sir Philip Wodehouse's mercy. Its supplies of ammunition were cut off, while traders were disposing of powder and shot to the Basuto with hardly an attempt at concealment. Raids were frequently made into the Free State from beyond the Thaba Bosigo line, and the burgher commandos could not cross that line in pursuit without defying the British authorities. Under these circumstances the volksraad was convened for the 13th of January. Immediately after it met it resolved to appoint commissioners to treat with Sir Philip Wodehouse, and instructed the president to make the preliminary arrangements.

On the 4th of February 1869, nearly eleven months after the Basuto had been proclaimed British subjects, the high commissioner and the deputies of the Free State met in conference in Mr. Halse's house at Aliwal North. There were present to represent the Free State, President Brand, Advocate Hamelberg, and Messrs. J. J. Venter, C. J. de Villiers, and A. J. Bester, members of the volksraad. All correspondence since the proclamation of the 12th of March 1868 was considered as withdrawn, and it was arranged that negotiations should be commenced on a clear field.

The Free State claimed first a boundary line according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo.

The high commissioner objected, and proposed instead a boundary as before the war of 1865, in which case the Free State might retain any amounts already received for land sold beyond it, and he would undertake to pay the sum of £50,000, which he would raise by the sale of farms.

The Free State refused this offer, and proposed instead to cede a small tract of land on its side of the Thaba Bosigo line.

The high commissioner declined, on the ground that the cession would be insufficient to meet the needs of the Basuto; but offered a line from Kornet Spruit along the Langebergen

to Jammerberg Drift on the Caledon (the present south-western boundary), further the Caledon river up to Jackman's Drift, and thence a line enclosing a triangular piece of territory in which the two former mission stations of Mekuatling and Mabolela were situated.

The Free State agreed to the boundary between the Caledon and Kornet Spruit, but declined to give up the triangular tract west of the Caledon.

The high commissioner then proposed the Caledon river from Jammerberg Drift to its source, provided the volksraad would consent to Molapo becoming a British subject and the district occupied by him between the Putiatsana and the Caledon becoming British territory.

The Free State would agree if the high commissioner would pay £20,000 towards the war expenses.

The high commissioner declined to pay anything. He refused also to keep old animosities alive by surrendering the murderers of Bush and Krynauw, as the Free State wished him to do.

The discussion was carried on for a full week before all matters were arranged. Finally a convention was drafted by Mr. Hamelberg, slightly altered by Sir Philip Wodehouse, and signed on the 12th of February. It fixed the boundary as at present from Kornet Spruit to the junction of the Putiatsana and the Caledon; permitted Molapo to become a British subject on his making a written request to that effect to the volksraad, when the district between the Putiatsana and the Caledon was to become part of British Basutoland; gave such Basuto as were on the Free State side of the Caledon until the 31st of July to cross that river, after which date they could be expelled by force; and secured to the French mission society as property which it could hold under Free State jurisdiction, or sell if it should choose to do so, fifteen hundred morgen of ground at each of its former stations Mekuatling and Mabolela. The thirteenth article of the convention provided for submitting to arbitration the claims of the Free State for

pecuniary compensation for the ground between the new boundary and that fixed by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. And lastly, there was a clause that the volksraad might adopt, instead of this convention, the first proposal of the high commissioner, namely, the line of 1864 with a money payment of £50,000 and the proceeds of the farms already sold.

When the convention was signed, the high commissioner appointed Messrs. J. H. Bowker and H. J. Halse, with Mr. J. X. Merriman as land-surveyor, to act with the Free State delegates in marking out and planting beacons along the new line between Kornet Spruit and the Caledon. They found the line an excellent natural boundary for the greater portion of the distance, consisting as it did of well-defined ranges of hills with streams running in both directions.*

His Excellency then set out for the Lesuto, and arrived at Korokoro on the 19th of February. The chiefs with their followers were already commencing to assemble there, and on Monday the 22nd a great meeting took place. At half-past ten in the morning Sir Philip Wodehouse took a seat in the shade of a great rock, having with him Mr. Bowker, his agent in Basutoland, Sub-Inspector Surmon, of the frontier armed and mounted police, and Mr. Cripps, his private secretary. At his left hand were seated Letsie, Molapo, and Masupha, the three sons of Moshesh by his great wife. On his right were the reverend Messrs. Mabille, Jousse, Maitin, Keck, Duvoisin, and Dr. Casalis, of the French Protestant mission, Dr. Allard and the reverend Mr. Gerard, of the Roman Catholic mission, and a few other Europeans. Before him were grouped the minor chiefs Molitsane, Lesawana, Nehemiah, Sophonia, George, Tsekelo,

* It is as follows:—From the junction of Kornet Spruit with the Orange river along the centre of the former to the point nearest to Olifants Been, from that point by Olifants Been to the southern point of Langeberg, along the top of Langeberg to its north-western extremity, thence to the eastern point of Jammerberg, along the top of Jammerberg to its north-western extremity, and thence by a prolongation of the same line to the Caledon river.

and many others, with two or three thousand attendants behind them or posted wherever a footing was to be had on the face of the rock. Moshesh was too feeble to leave his residence on Thaba Bosigo.

The object of the meeting was to make the chiefs and people acquainted with the arrangements entered into at Aliwal North, and to secure their ratification of the convention, which was as much needed as that of the secretary of state or the volksraad. Through the reverend Mr. Mabille, who acted as interpreter, the high commissioner explained to the people assembled that he had secured for them as good terms as they could reasonably expect, that the territory within the new boundary was ample for their requirements as he would make provision in Nomansland for the clans that had migrated to that country during the war, and that their future fortunes rested with themselves.

Molitsane was the only one of the chiefs who openly objected to the arrangement. He demurred to giving up his old location west of the Caledon, but ceased opposition when the high commissioner promised him the district vacated by Makwai. Of the three sons of Moshesh by his great wife, Molapo was the one whose power was weakened most by the substitution of the line of the Caledon for that of 1864, and he made no open complaints, but confined his remarks to a request that he might be received as a British subject. After full discussion, the chiefs and missionaries professed to concur in the view that the settlement was as satisfactory as under the circumstances they could hope for, and the leading chiefs promised to carry it out.

The high commissioner then announced that as soon as the convention was ratified by the Imperial and Free State governments magistrates would be appointed, when he hoped an era of order and prosperity would be entered upon. The people would be required to pay the hut-tax already agreed to, but in consideration of the circumstances of the country it would be optional with each man to contribute in money, grain, or live stock. The high commissioner would hence-

forth exercise the right of assigning ground to clans and individuals, a right always held and acted upon by the supreme authority in every tribe. The country would be divided into three districts, in each of which one of the principal chiefs would be stationed.

To none of these announcements was there any objection made, but every one who spoke at all agreed to them.

Next day Sir Philip Wodehouse visited Moshesh, who was as profuse of thanks and expressions of satisfaction as he had always been on similar occasions. He was, however, so feeble in mind and body that not much value could be attached to what he said.

The high commissioner then issued a few simple trading regulations, in which the charges for licenses were fixed at £10 a year or £1 a month, and in which the sale of intoxicating liquor was prohibited under penalty of a fine not exceeding £10 for the first offence and loss of license for the second, together with forfeiture of all spirits in possession of the trader. The police in the Lesuto, one hundred men in all, were distributed in four camps, one on the Orange river, one on Kornet Spruit, and two on the Caledon, with the object of suppressing cattle lifting.

As nothing further could be done until the ratification of the convention, the high commissioner left Thaba Bosigo, and passing through rich fields of ripening corn to the Orange river, he made his way over the Drakensberg into Nomansland. There he assigned locations to the emigrant Basuto chiefs Makwai and Lebenya, as also to the Hlubi chief Zibi and the Batlokua chief Lehana. On the way down he had an interview with Morosi, who requested to be allowed to cast in his lot with the rest of the Basuto tribe. The high commissioner, however, doubted his sincerity, and told him he must take time to consider the matter.

It had become necessary to select a site for the permanent residence of the high commissioner's agent, and as Korokoro was in many respects unsuitable, in March 1869 Mr. Bowker moved to Maseru, a much better situation.

Notwithstanding the nominal assent of the chiefs to the new boundary, in reality most of them were bitterly disappointed with it. They had imagined that on their becoming British subjects Sir Philip Wodehouse would use his power to recover for the tribe all the country that had once been Moshesh's. Their discontent was fanned by Mr. Buchanan, who represented to them that they had been grievously wronged, and that if they would send him to England as their agent he would probably be able to prevent the ratification of the convention and obtain for them all the land within the old boundary.

Sir Philip Wodehouse's back was hardly turned upon the Lesuto when intrigues were set on foot to reverse what he had done. Molapo, Nehemiah, and Tsekelo were busy openly stirring up disaffection, and many others were secretly working with them. Letters were written by Tsekelo for his father, promising to collect three hundred and eighty head of cattle to defray the cost of an embassy to England, and asking Mr. Buchanan to go himself and plead with the queen. Molapo sent Makotoko, his principal counsellor, with Tsekelo to Natal, to confer with Mr. Buchanan there. Letsie alone among the chiefs, though he was cautiously trying how far he could ignore Mr. Bowker, would have nothing to do with the movement, for he could not possibly gain anything by it, and might lose much.

The reverend Mr. Daumas was then living in Natal. His judgment seems to have been warped by the troubles he had gone through and by disappointment that his station of Mekuatling, where he had lived and laboured for twenty-eight years, had not been restored to him.* His colleagues

* That he was suffering from aberration of mind is placed almost beyond doubt by the evidence afforded by a map and certain information which he furnished to the government of Natal, and which the imperial government published in a bluebook. That this "good and gentle old father," as the writer has heard Mr. Daumas described by more than one who was intimately acquainted with him, prepared a map so misleading as the one referred to and which is at complete variance with former productions of his own associates, can be satisfactorily accounted for in no other way.

in the Lesuto, though deeply grieved that the new boundary did not include Mekuatling and Mabolela on the north and Hebron * and Poortje on the south, were willing to accept the situation, and indeed expressed an opinion that their efforts to christianise the Basuto would be advanced rather than retarded by the change that had taken place. Without their concurrence Mr. Daumas entered into Mr. Buchanan's schemes.

A memorial, praying the secretary of state to advise the queen not to ratify the convention, was prepared in Natal, and though only sixteen signatures could be obtained to it, was forwarded through the lieutenant-governor. Preparations were hurried on, and without waiting for the contribution in cattle which Moshesh had promised, in April Messrs. Buchanan and Daumas sailed for England, taking Tsekelo with them.

Mr. Bowker, who described the situation as one of "treason on every side," now endeavoured to take the first step towards the restoration of order. This was the removal of Molitsane from the neighbourhood of Mekuatling to the district along the new south-western boundary which had been left vacant by the emigration of Makwai. When called upon to move, Molitsane made various excuses. He asserted that Moshesh had ordered him either to remain where he was or to join Moperi in Witsi's Hoek. Mr. Bowker informed him that if he did not move at once the vacant district would be given to Fingos from the Wittebergen reserve, and he would be left, without assistance or a place of refuge, to meet the Free State forces

That he was a simple tool in the hands of one of stronger will has been advanced as an explanation by one who was thoroughly conversant with the whole matter, but this seems to me rather to corroborate than to disprove the view here given, and which was held by his most intimate colleagues.

* On the 13th of June 1866 by a resolution of the volksraad this station, under the name Verliesfontein, had been restored to Mr. Jan de Winnaar, upon condition of his giving up the farm Vlakfontein, which he had received as compensation for it after the war of 1858.

when the term of grace accorded by the Aliwal convention should expire. Molitsane* then pretended to submit, and without further loss of time abandoned the district which he had occupied since 1837, and moved to the location assigned to him. His sons, however, remained in the Koranaberg.

After the departure of Messrs. Buchanan and Daumas with Tsekelo, the different chiefs began to vie with each other in protestations of fidelity to the British government and submission to the orders of the high commissioner's agent. Moshesh, Letsie, Masupha, the principal minor chiefs, even Molapo, sent messages denying that they had anything to do with the mission to England. Their object was apparent: to keep in Sir Philip Wodehouse's favour if the mission should fail, to profit by it should it prove successful. Mr. Bowker, who knew exactly what value to place upon the assurances of the chiefs, looked around for some means of governing the country, and eventually concluded that the simplest plan would be to introduce a body of Fingos and locate them upon the vacant lands. On inspection he found that there was plenty of room for a large number of such immigrants, and they could be depended upon to support the British authorities. He proposed to the high commissioner that a beginning should be made with Josana, but upon inquiry that petty chief was found to have too small a following to be of any service, and before the plan could be carried further the course of events was changed.

In May Messrs. Buchanan and Daumas, with Tsekelo, arrived in England, and at once set about securing supporters among those benevolent individuals whose sympathy with distress cannot be too highly extolled, but whose very virtues often expose them to be made the means of doing great wrongs. The Aborigines Protection Society took them by the hand, and soon the prominent mission societies in England and Scotland were aiding and abetting them.

* He was then a very old man, but still in possession of all his faculties. He died on the 2nd of October 1885, at the age of fully one hundred years.

These philanthropic people were told that Sir Philip Wodehouse was taking away from a simple and almost defenceless tribe the greater portion of the territory which it had inherited from its ancestors, and was giving the land to cruel and rapacious Europeans who were despoilers of churches and scorners of the rights of coloured people. They did not imagine that in reality they were being asked to aid in perpetuating anarchy and crime. Without that close inquiry which alone could enable them to arrive at the truth, they accepted statements which agreed with preconceived opinions, and shortly that vast machinery which philanthropy can put in motion in England was at work to oppose Sir Philip Wodehouse's settlement of the Basuto difficulty.

The secretary of state for the colonies, upon a request from the directors of the Paris mission society that he would grant an audience to Mr. Daumas, and a similar request from Mr. Buchanan on his own behalf, consented to an interview. It took place on the 22nd of June. Messrs. Buchanan, Daumas, and Tsekelo were accompanied by several members of the imperial parliament. They laid before Earl Granville a memorial signed by seventeen members of the house of commons and the secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, setting forth Mr. Buchanan's views, and praying that her Majesty's government would annul the convention of Aliwal North. The secretary of state hereupon wrote to the high commissioner, expressing full confidence in him, but asking for further explanations.

While the delay in bringing about a settlement was thus prolonged, the Lesuto remained a scene of confusion and violence. The only revenue that could be collected was in the form of licenses from European traders, which brought in no more than £6 or £7 monthly. Mr. Bowker was without any real power, and each chief was acting independently of central control.

Ramanela, ever a prime mover in deeds of violence, had continued depredations upon the Free State farmers, without

any regard for the high commissioner's proclamation and subsequent instructions. Molapo offered to chastise him, but President Brand would not consent to his doing so while he remained a Free State subject. Mr. Bowker, however, authorised Molapo to punish the robber, which he did by falling upon him and seizing about a thousand head of cattle.

At the end of July the country on the Free State side of the Caledon was still as fully occupied by Basuto as it had been in March 1868. Molitsane himself had moved to Makwai's old kraal, but his sons were still in the Korana-berg. Parties of Basuto were even crossing from their own side and settling on the other.

The high commissioner's position was made more difficult by the action of the Cape parliament. The frontier police under Mr. Bowker in the Lesuto had been reduced to thirty-six men, and if they were withdrawn there would be no representatives of the British government left, for there was no revenue out of which salaries could be paid. Under these circumstances the legislative council requested the high commissioner to give "such information as would show that the employment of a portion of the frontier police in Basutoland was of colonial importance and necessary to its security." The house of assembly, after a lengthy and warm discussion in which the greatest sympathy was expressed with the Free State, passed a resolution by a majority of twenty-seven to six, in which it repudiated the idea that Basutoland could be regarded as a part of the frontier, or as a territory to be defended, except temporarily, by the armed and mounted police, the finances of the colony being wholly inadequate to sustain such a charge for any length of time. The high commissioner could only reply that the police would be withdrawn without any unnecessary delay.

Sir Philip Wodehouse's explanations to the secretary of state showed with how little justice he could be accused of wronging the Basuto. He had recovered for them so much more ground than they needed that his agent in the country

was proposing to introduce Fingos to fill it and create a balance of power, while Moshesh—*i.e.* his minor sons acting in his name — was actually at this very time renewing overtures to Jan Letele's people and other subjects of the Free State to come in and ally themselves with his tribe. Mr. Bowker computed that there would not be more than five thousand individuals affected by the substitution of the Caledon for the boundary of 1864, but this number was certainly too small.

The secretary of state, being satisfied on these points, next raised an objection to the thirteenth article of the convention, which provided for the submission to arbitration of the claims of the Free State for payment for the land restored to the Basuto. He was not prepared to make any compensation, and if this article was insisted upon by the Free State, the convention must be annulled. If it were expunged he would advise her Majesty to ratify the remaining clauses.

As early as the 5th of May the volksraad had ratified the convention. Only one member voted against it, that one preferring Sir Philip Wodehouse's alternative, — the boundary of 1864 with a body of farmers under English rule behind it, and the payment of £50,000 in money. And now that the question was opened again, the president, in order to promote a settlement, consented to the thirteenth article being expunged.

The chief Letsie, to whose interest it was, more than to that of any other individual in the country, to be under British protection, became alarmed when he heard that there was a possibility of the convention being set aside. His father was too infirm to take an active part in affairs. His brother Molapo was in a position of independence of the other Basuto. He himself was not yet recognised as paramount chief. If the convention were annulled, and the war were renewed, he would certainly be ruined. "In fear and astonishment" therefore, as he caused to be written, he had a memorial drawn up to the secretary of state. In it he

declared that he was fully satisfied with the arrangements made by Sir Philip Wodehouse, ignored any connection with the mission of Mr. Buchanan and Tsekelo, and prayed that the English government would not withdraw its protection. The document was signed by Letsie himself, his eldest son Lerothodi, and his sub-chiefs and counsellors.

Before this memorial could reach England, Mr. Buchanan had lost favour with Earl Granville. In his conceit he spoke of "his intention to lay waste the Free State," and of "the peace of the Free State being a great deal more in his hands than in those of the high commissioner." In violent language he abused Sir Philip Wodehouse, and brought charges against him which Earl Granville knew to be contrary to fact. In reply he was curtly informed that Earl Granville "apprehended the law would be found to forbid such proceedings (as those he contemplated), and that it would probably be put in force by the authorities of the Free State and by those of the neighbouring British colonies." And instructions were sent to the lieutenant-governor of Natal to prevent him from carrying out his threats. This rebuff did not silence him, however, and he continued to make the most extravagant complaints accompanied by statements altogether misleading.

Unfortunately most of the leading missionary associations in Great Britain, as well as the Paris society, had already adopted Mr. Buchanan's views, and were pressing them upon the secretary of state. One name especially was mixed up with these proceedings, which every true-hearted man would fain blot out if truth did not forbid it,—the name of the venerable Dr. Duff, the celebrated Indian missionary of the Free church of Scotland. Dr. Duff had made a short visit to the mission stations in the Lesuto in 1864, at the time when the Free State was intent only on preserving a boundary line which three English governors—Sir Harry Smith, Sir George Grey, and Sir Philip Wodehouse—had laid down. The Basuto had invaded and taken possession of land far beyond that line, and all that the Free State

desired was that they should withdraw within it. Naturally, under such circumstances, the feeling between the two races was not friendly. Yet Dr. Duff, who was not long enough in the country to correct earlier prejudices, and who heard only the Basuto version of the story, could write that he was "forced to the conclusion that the Boers were the chief aggressors," and that he "fervently trusted the convention would not be ratified."

Owing to so many obstructions, it was only at the close of December 1869 that the convention was ratified by her Majesty's government. The despatch conveying this information had already reached Sir Philip Wodehouse when another memorial was presented to the secretary of state. It was signed by Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Alfred Churchill, sixteen members of the house of commons, General Shaw, Sir James Alexander, Dr. Duff as convener of missions of the Free church of Scotland, Dr. Mullins as foreign secretary of the London Missionary Society, Mr. James Davis as secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, and Mr. F. W. Chesson as secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society. It was a statement of the views held by those gentlemen, such as can only be ascribed to defective information, and a prayer that the convention of Aliwal should not be ratified. Earl Granville replied that after receiving detailed explanations from Sir Philip Wodehouse, the convention had been approved of some weeks before.

On the 10th of March 1870 the document as amended was signed in Capetown by Mr. P. G. van der Byl, as agent for the Orange Free State. There still remained the formality that the volksraad should concur in the president's approval of the thirteenth article being expunged, which they did on the 3rd of the following May. Owing to the treaty of September 1858 having been drawn up at the same place, this document, as now finally confirmed by all parties, is officially termed the second treaty or convention of Aliwal North.

CHAPTER LXIII.

EVENTS IN THE LESUTO FROM MARCH 1870 TO THE CLOSE OF 1872.

THE final ratification of the convention, after more than two years' delay, during which period the word anarchy fitly describes the condition of the Lesuto, placed the British authorities in a position to take measures for the establishment of a settled government. The Bataung stragglers on the Free State side of the Caledon had already been driven across by a patrol. Towards the close of 1869 a good many farms in the territory from which they had been expelled, as well as the villages of Ladybrand and Ficksburg, had been occupied, so that the clan gave up further resistance, and settled in its new location.

The next step to be taken was the transfer of Molapo from the Free State, in order to secure a uniform system of government in the country. Mr. Bowker ascertained that he was still secretly hankering after the incorporation of his district with Natal, but he expressed his desire to become a British subject, and addressed a letter to the volksraad requesting to be released from his allegiance.

While the arrangements for his transfer were being made, the chief to whom the Basuto owe their existence as a tribe was dying on Thaba Bosigo. The weight of seventy-seven years, many of them years of unwonted care and anxiety for one of his race, had exhausted his physical strength; but his mental faculties were not wholly decayed. Four months before his death he selected a beautiful kaross made of panther skins, and asked Mr. Bowker to send it in his name to the queen as a mark of his gratitude and desire that British protection should not be withdrawn from his

country. His power over his people had ceased. No one any longer went to him for orders, or asked his opinion on public matters. His sons Letsie, Molapo, and Masupha exercised control over their followers, without any reference to him. On the 11th of March 1870 he died. So nearly forgotten was the man who had once been the most prominent chief in South Africa, that hardly a colonial newspaper contained more than a brief notice of his death.

But to the Basuto his decease transformed him from a helpless old man, for whom even his nearest relatives had no regard, to the highest object of their worship. From that moment Moshesh became to them a god whose favour could bring prosperity and whose displeasure was ruin and death. Thaba Bosigo, the mountain on which he had lived and where his remains were buried, was thenceforth and is still regarded by them with superstitious reverence. It is not only their great fortress that has never yet been taken by a foe: it is a holy place, guarded by the spirit of the chief who was the founder and preserver of their tribe.

The black man of highest intellect in all South Africa had passed away. He was indeed a scheming and unprincipled chief, who never respected his neighbours' rights or kept his own engagements. Yet Moshesh was a great man. Assuredly no European who lacked honesty and truthfulness should be so regarded; but a man born and brought up as he was can be judged by a different standard. His vices were the vices of his race, all his own were his ability in creating order out of chaos, in organising a compact society out of conflicting elements, in directing military movements, in substituting mildness of government for savage ferocity, in devising and carrying out large and wise measures for his people's good, in dealings with white men even to the consummate tact with which he weighed and set off one section of Europeans against another. By Englishmen his plans of aggrandisement surely cannot be imputed to him as crimes, though the Sovereignty and the Free State were undoubtedly justified in opposing them.

Compare what he was forty years earlier with the commanding position that he occupied towards the close of his life, and consider how few Europeans have done as much as he did. The son of a chief of no importance, with less than a hundred followers he commenced his career by most skilful and daring raids in quest of cattle, in which success gained him a reputation among the despoiled people in the valley of the Tlotsi. Then moving to the strong position of Butabute, where in 1823 and again in 1824 he was attacked by Ma Ntatisi and reduced to great distress, his military genius saved him, and by his retirement to Thaba Bosigo beyond the territory previously occupied by any section of the Bakwena, he secured a fortress which enabled him to rally many hundreds of warriors around him. The destruction of the Amahlubi under Umpangazita by the Amangwane near Lishuane on the Caledon in 1826 and the retirement of the last-named tribe over the Kathlamba in 1827 gave him an opportunity that a man of ability could turn to account, and then he set about building up a strong tribe from the wretched fragments that remained of many of various names. This was Moshesh in 1827, and to-day the tribe that owes its existence to him is far the most important of all in Africa south of the Zambesi.

His disregard of truth was the weakest point in his character, yet in this respect, though he must be condemned, there is something that ought to be said in his defence. Every black man knows what truth is. In giving the particulars of an event to his chief he uses language that conveys the idea of the circumstance in its exact reality, and that will not bear two constructions. He knows that this is his duty, and he acts to the very best of his ability upon that knowledge. But he feels no obligation to do this to a man of another tribe, and least of all to a man of a different race. His companions would regard him as a fool if he told the truth, when there was anything to be gained by falsehood. In this view of things Moshesh was brought up. If an undertaking, whether by word of mouth or in

writing, served its purpose for the time, by enabling him to overcome any pressing difficulty, that was enough for him in the opinion of his own people and of all the other tribes.

None of his sons could be compared with him in intellect or in disposition for improvement. And this is perhaps the most discouraging feature in connection with the Bantu of South Africa. Individuals here and there rise high above the mass of their fellows, but there is no certainty that their children will be more advanced than ordinary barbarians. Four of Moshesh's sons—Masupha or David, Nehemiah, George, and Tsekelo—were educated in colonial schools, but lacked the ability to turn their advantages to good account.

No other South African chief, not even Khama, of the Bamangwato, can be placed on the same level as Moshesh. Moroko, of the Barolong, Kama, of the Gunukwebes, Makaula, of the Bacas, and perhaps a few others, possessed more of the European virtues; but in everything else they were far beneath him.

His son Letsie succeeded to the title of paramount chief of the Basuto tribe, but it was only British authority that prevented Molapo, Masupha, and some others from declaring their independence of him. In reality he was great chief only in name, and never did, or was capable of doing, anything of note. On the 20th of November 1891 he died, and was succeeded by his son Lerothodi, a much abler man, though inferior to his grandfather in every respect.

On the 11th of April 1870, a month after the death of Moshesh, the arrangements were completed for the transfer of Molapo. On that day a meeting took place at Leribe, at which Messrs. J. W. Lotz, F. P. Schnehage, and G. Vergottini, as representatives of the volksraad, released the chief from allegiance to the Free State; and Mr. Bowker, as high commissioner's agent, received him as a British subject. Molapo had previously withdrawn all his people from the country north and west of the Caledon, and he now expressed

himself perfectly satisfied with the boundary assigned to the Lesuto by the second convention of Aliwal North.

In the session of 1870 the Cape parliament showed itself as little inclined as in 1869 to take upon the colony the enforcement of order in the Lesuto. On the 3rd of May a resolution was carried in the house of assembly that it was expedient that the frontier armed and mounted police then serving in Basutoland should be withdrawn and stationed within the colonial boundary as early as would be safe and prudent. This resolution was communicated to the governor by respectful address, but he took no action upon it.

In May 1870 Sir Philip Wodehouse drew up a series of regulations for the government of the Basuto, which were, however, not to be put in force until considered expedient by Mr. Bowker. At the same time he appointed Mr. Bowker, high commissioner's agent, magistrate of the central and northern districts of the Lesuto, and Mr. John Austen, previously superintendent of the Wittebergen reserve, magistrate of the southern district. Instructions were issued to proceed with the collection of the hut-tax, and until it should be known whether the Basuto would keep their engagement to pay this tax all further arrangements for the government of the tribe were left in abeyance.

It had not yet been decided whether the Baputi were to be considered British subjects, and whether the district which they occupied south of the Orange was to be regarded as part of the Lesuto, or not. Sir Philip Wodehouse had been requested by Morosi to take him over, but had declined to do so without further consideration. To ascertain if he was still of the same mind, in June 1870 he was requested to meet Messrs. Bowker and Austen at the police camp at Pathlala Drift. There Morosi declared that he had been for years a subject of the late chief Moshesh, and that he desired to follow his example. He had acted, he said, the part of a dog lingering behind at a kraal and gnawing bones after his master had left, and now he wished to follow

up the trail of his master. He and his people were then formally received as British subjects.

Political agitators were keeping the people in such a disturbed state that Mr. Bowker was obliged to ask for authority to deal summarily with them. In reply he was informed that he could order such persons to leave the country, and if they did not go he could expel them or imprison them pending the high commissioner's decision in each case. When it became known that he possessed such power, these mischief makers desisted from acting as openly as before, but Mr. Bowker was aware that their intrigues were still continued. The most dangerous of these agitators were the petty chiefs who had been partly educated in the Cape Colony, and who were filled with extravagant ideas of their own importance, but who were really incompetent to fill any position of trust.

For several months after Sir Philip Wodehouse's departure from South Africa there were hardly any occurrences worth noting in connection with the Basuto. The attention of people throughout South Africa was directed to the development of the recently discovered diamond-fields and the disputes concerning the ownership of the ground along the lower Vaal. Neither government officers nor private individuals had time to bestow upon the question of the settlement of a tribe of whose name all were weary. General Hay, the temporary administrator of the government of the Cape Colony, left everything to be arranged by the coming high commissioner. Mr. Bowker, having succeeded Sir Walter Currie as commandant of the frontier armed and mounted police, appointed Inspector Surmon to act as his deputy in the Lesuto, and was never afterwards able to be at Maseru except for a brief visit.

The Basuto at this time were in possession of a large number of firearms, but since the cessation of hostilities they had not been able to obtain as much ammunition as they desired to have. The government wished to divert their attention to peaceful pursuits, and with this object

endeavoured to prevent munitions of war from reaching them. But contraband traders could not be kept out of the field. One of these men came up from Natal with a number of rifles, which were evidently intended for sale, though no proof could be obtained to that effect. Mr. Bowker took temporary possession of the weapons, and then wrote asking for instructions. In reply he was authorised to confiscate such importations. Still, the profit on illicit transactions in munitions of war was so great that unscrupulous men could not be deterred from engaging in them.

In August Messrs. Austen and Surmon set about the collection of the hut-tax. The chiefs were promised ten per cent of the amounts paid in, as an inducement to exert their authority and influence with the people. The result was the receipt of rather over £3,700. A small portion was paid in money, but most of it was paid in grain, horned cattle, and goats, which were sent to the Cape Colony and sold.

This being considered satisfactory, the chiefs and leading men in the country were called together at Thaba Bosigo on the 22nd of December, when the regulations drawn up by Sir Philip Wodehouse were laid before them, and discussion was invited. Everyone present expressed satisfaction at having been saved from ruin by their adoption as British subjects, but with regard to their prospective government they were less pleased. Molapo and some of the minor chiefs were still clamouring in disappointment that Great Britain had not forcibly restored to them the whole of the land ceded to the Free State by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. Tsekelo, recently returned from Europe, had stirred up their disaffection anew. He had informed them of interviews which he had with powerful men who wished them to get back all they had lost. He had told them that the settlement effected by Sir Philip Wodehouse was condemned in England, and that the coming governor would undo all that the late one had done. Mr. Buchanan's emissaries also

were busy fomenting seditious feelings, though he himself remained in Natal, by whose government he was earnestly advised to abstain from further interference in Basuto affairs. The dissatisfaction regarding the question of regaining the whole of the lost territory was, however, rebuked by Letsie, who expressed himself contented with the country left to the tribe.

Much greater concern was expressed when the regulations were read, and it was discovered that the chiefs were ignored in them except as tax collectors and census framers. Their judicial authority, they observed, was only incidentally referred to, in order that it might be set aside by the white magistrates. That they would relinquish the outward and visible sign of rank and power was not reasonable to expect, and certainly they had no intention of doing so in reality, whatever they might profess in words. Molapo, Masupha, and the minor chiefs spoke openly against the acceptance of the regulations, on the ground of their ignoring the chiefs and placing women in a position which, according to Basuto ideas, could only be filled by men. Finally, however, Letsie stopped further discussion by declaring himself satisfied, and adding that the people must accept the regulations and pay the hut-tax.

A little later in the day an address to Mr. Bowker was drawn up in writing and signed by the chiefs. In it they expressed their thanks for having been received as British subjects, and declared that the laws read over were reasonable. But they stated that "they were sorry not to see mentioned the rights and the authority left to the chiefs, who were the captains of the queen."

At this meeting cattle were collected to be sent, according to traditional custom, with messengers announcing the death of Moshesh to the chiefs of tribes with whom he had intercourse in his lifetime. By some oversight no messengers were sent to Ketshwayo on this occasion, which omission of courtesy led some time afterwards to a panic grounded on fear of a Zulu invasion.

On the 31st of December 1870 Sir Henry Barkly assumed duty as high commissioner and governor of the Cape Colony. As soon as his arrival in South Africa was known, the Basuto chiefs sent him a letter of welcome. They had been persuaded by Tsekelo and Mr. Buchanan that Sir Philip Wodehouse had been recalled owing to their representations in England, and that the new governor would most likely favour them much more than the late one had done. The chiefs were therefore anxious to know what Sir Henry Barkly's views and intentions were. He did not keep them long in suspense. Within ten weeks of his arrival in Cape-town he was on his way to the Lesuto, and on the 16th of March 1871 he had a meeting with Letsie at Maseru. The governor was accompanied by Messrs. J. H. Bowker and C. D. Griffith. Lieutenant-Governor Keate, of Natal, by previous arrangement met him in the Lesuto.

Sir Henry Barkly announced that he intended to increase the staff of European officers in the territory and to annex it to the Cape Colony, to which Letsie replied that he would be satisfied with anything and everything that the queen's government might do.

The other chiefs were equally loyal in words. Molapo asked about the ground he had lost, and was told that the Caledon was the fixed boundary and no other must be thought of. He said that he was satisfied, as the governor knew what was best for them; but as soon as he was beyond the hearing of Europeans he burst out into passionate utterances against Sir Henry Barkly and Sir Philip Wodehouse alike.

Upon the death of Moshesh, Masupha had removed from his residence on the Putiatsana to Thaba Bosigo, against the orders of the high commissioner's agent. He was the ablest of Moshesh's sons, and recognised the advantage to himself which the occupation of the sacred and impregnable mountain would give. He had obstructed the collection of hut-tax, and had put himself in opposition to all authority. Nevertheless, with a large armed following he met the

governor and escorted him through the Berea district, declaring himself a thoroughly loyal and obedient subject. Sir Henry Barkly told him that he could not be recognised as the head of a portion of the tribe nor receive any commission upon the receipt of hut-tax until he removed from Thaba Bosigo and took up his residence in the Berea district, over which he was appointed chief. He promised to comply with the governor's wishes, but went straight back to Thaba Bosigo.

Nehemiah, George, and Sophonia had just before been announcing as their views that the chiefs should collect the revenue, pay the magistrates, and dispose of the surplus as they should see fit, that the laws should be made by the Basuto chiefs and headmen sitting in council at Thaba Bosigo, and that the chiefs, advised by the magistrates, should have the administration of affairs. These sons of Moshesh were now, if their professions to the governor could be trusted, the most humble and dutiful subjects, contented to abide by whatever the queen's representative should please to consider good for them.

Sir Henry Barkly, deceived by these protestations of loyalty, returned to Capetown convinced that the chiefs were sincere, and that there would be no difficulty in governing the tribe. The country, in his opinion, was capable of supporting many times the number of inhabitants then in it. On the 27th of April he opened the Cape parliament with a speech in which he stated his intention to introduce a bill to annex Basutoland to the Cape Colony, and informed the members that the hut-tax was generally paid, that the amount collected had left a considerable balance after defraying expenses, and that the revenue was adequate for purposes of government, including police.

The imperial government had never intended that the Lesuto should be a direct dependency of the crown. When permission was given to Sir Philip Wodehouse to take over the people, it was on condition that the legislature of Natal should previously express its consent to their incorporation

with that colony. He had not adhered to his instructions, and the secretary of state had then permitted him to have his own way for a time, provided he did not put the home government to any expense. This difficulty he had got over by employing none but members of the frontier armed and mounted police, with an officer of that force as his agent in the territory, though in direct opposition to the wishes of the Cape parliament. But this was an arrangement which was not intended by any one to be permanent.

On the 17th of October 1870, before Sir Henry Barkly left England, he was instructed by the secretary of state to discuss the question with Sir Philip Wodehouse, and received directions in writing that "Basutoland should be annexed as soon as possible either to Natal or to the Cape Colony." An alternative was indeed mentioned in another paragraph, in which the secretary wrote: "You will endeavour to secure either that this territory is annexed to one of the neighbouring colonies, or that a revenue is raised from it sufficient to enable you as high commissioner to conduct its government without external assistance." But the views of the imperial government were decidedly against the last of these courses, if annexation could be brought about.

On the 3rd of May the governor's secretary brought an annexation bill to the legislative council, where it was received and read for the first time. It then dropped out of sight for two months, until the 3rd of July, when it was referred to a select committee of eight members. The committee consulted Messrs. J. X. Merriman and J. H. Bowker, as well as the colonial secretary and the attorney-general, all of whom were in favour of annexation to the Cape Colony rather than to Natal. Mr. Bowker stated that Masupha and a few of the petty chiefs were opposed to European government, but the power of the tribe was completely broken and its influence was gone.

On the 1st of August the select committee brought up a report. Basutoland, they affirmed, offered a wide field of

profitable commercial enterprise, which it would be sound policy to secure; the country having already been declared British territory, it would be undesirable for the colony, being geographically connected with it, not to obtain legislative control over the people; and with reference to the financial aspect of the question, it did not appear that annexation was likely to entail any additional burden on the colony.

The actual revenue received from the date of the assumption of British authority to the 31st of May 1871 was £4,753. This was made up of hut-tax £3,721, trading licenses £961, fines £63, and fees for registration of marriages £8. The hut-tax was one year's collection only, the other items were receipts of rather more than three years. A large increase in all might reasonably be expected. The expenditure proposed by Sir Henry Barkly was: chief magistrate and governor's agent £800 and £100 for house rent, two magistrates at £400 and £50 for house rent, two assistant magistrates at £200, one European clerk at £125, and three Basuto clerks at £50 each per annum. Stationery £75. Total £2,550. With the balance of the revenue he proposed to provide a police force. Nothing was allowed in these estimates for public works, buildings, education, or postal communication.

The legislative council in committee adopted the report by a majority of eleven to six, but after a warm discussion the second reading of the annexation bill was only carried by ten votes against eight. On the following day—2nd of August—it passed its third reading in the council, and on the 5th it was brought up in the house of assembly and read for the first time. The session was then drawing to a close, and business was being hurried through. On the 9th the bill was read for the second time. On the 10th the house of assembly went into committee, and after a very brief discussion the bill was read the third time without a division. On the day following, the 11th of August, parliament was prorogued.

By this act the Lesuto was annexed to the Cape Colony, but was not made subject to colonial law. The duty of legislating for the territory, that is of making, repealing, amending, and altering laws and regulations, was vested in the governor. All legislative enactments were to be laid before parliament within fourteen days of the opening of the session following their promulgation, and were to remain in force unless they should be repealed, altered, or varied by act of parliament during that session. No act of parliament was to apply to the territory unless so declared in express terms in the act itself or in a proclamation by the governor.

On the 16th of August a great meeting of the Basuto people took place at Maseru. A message from the governor was read to Letsie, informing him that no change whatever was effected in the position of the Basuto by the annexation of the country, except giving them the full privileges of British subjects in the Cape Colony. Letsie, Masupha, Nehemiah, George, Tsekelo, Makotoko for Molapo, and others, using the most loyal language, agreed to what had been done. No one raised a dissentient voice.

A little later—11th of September—Letsie caused a letter to be written to the governor expressing his satisfaction that his country had been united to the Cape Colony, and asking that the upper districts of Nomansland should be declared part of the Lesuto. He claimed them, he said, as having been presented by the Pondo chief Faku to his father Moshesh. This was not the first time that Letsie advanced pretensions to the ownership of the best part of Nomansland, and in previous chapters it has been recorded how persistently Nehemiah schemed to obtain the recognition by Sir George Grey and Sir Philip Wodehouse of his occupation of that territory. Sir Philip Wodehouse had located the clans of Makwai, Lebenya, Lehana, and Zibi in it; but without proclaiming it British soil. The restrictions placed by the secretary of state in 1864 upon the extension of the British dominions in South Africa were still in force regard-

ing the whole country east of the Indwe and the Kei. Letsie's claim could not therefore be recognised, even had the high commissioner been disposed to admit the validity of Faku's cession.

The Lesuto was now divided into four districts, named Leribe, Berea, Thaba Bosigo, and Kornet Spruit. Over the whole Mr. Charles Duncan Griffith had already been placed, with the titles of chief magistrate and governor's agent. On the 2nd of August he assumed the duties, when he found the only questions causing general interest were the refusal of Masupha to leave Thaba Bosigo, though Letsie professed to endorse the order of the governor that he should do so, and Mr. Buchanan's efforts to obtain the cattle promised by Moshesh to defray the cost of his mission to Europe, but which no one was disposed to contribute.

A slight difficulty had arisen through four Basuto, who were armed with guns and were travelling through the Free State with a pass signed by Mr. David Arnot, having their weapons taken from them when they reached Bloemfontein; but it was surmounted by Mr. Griffith, acting under instructions from the high commissioner, making an unofficial request to the landdrost of that town to restore the confiscated articles.

On the 15th of July the reverend Mr. Jousse wrote to the governor on behalf of Masupha, asking that he might remain on Thaba Bosigo, as Letsie had no intention of going to live there. On the 2nd of September the governor directed the chief magistrate to inform Masupha that he must move as soon as he conveniently could to the Berea district, but this intimation was not to be followed by any active steps unless Letsie should apply for assistance. Masupha therefore remained master of the stronghold. As for Mr. Buchanan, he continued to write inflammatory letters to the chiefs, and did his utmost to keep alive a spirit of disaffection. On the 2nd of September the high commissioner directed Lieutenant-Governor Keate to inform him that if he sent messengers again into the Lesuto they would

be prosecuted for stirring up sedition, but that he could bring his claim against the Basuto chiefs for compensation for the expenses he had incurred in his visit to England before the proper law courts, if he chose to do so.

At Leribe Major Charles Harland Bell was appointed magistrate, and assumed duty on the 13th of May. He was received by Molapo in a very cordial manner, and at a meeting which was held to introduce him, Jonathan and Joel, Molapo's sons, Selebalo, Molapo's half-brother, and Mapetshuane, son of Poshuli and cousin of Molapo, who were the leading men of the district, expressed their pleasure in welcoming him.

In the district of Berea, Inspector William Henry Surmon, of the frontier armed and mounted police, was appointed to act as magistrate.

The governor's agent was also required to perform the duties of magistrate of the district of Thaba Bosigo. He resided at Maseru, and had as assistant magistrate and interpreter Mr. Emile Rolland, son of one of the first missionaries of the Paris evangelical society, who was thoroughly acquainted with the language and customs of the Basuto. He was also authorised to provide himself with a clerk, and on the 11th of November Mr. H. E. Richard Bright arrived and assumed that duty.

In the district of Kornet Spruit Mr. John Austen remained as magistrate.

The sub-magistrates had jurisdiction in civil cases of any amount, but their decisions were subject to review by the chief magistrate. They had jurisdiction in all criminal cases, except when persons were charged with crimes punishable by death under the colonial law. All sentences of over a month's imprisonment, or a fine of £5, or twelve lashes, were subject to the review of the chief magistrate, upon application of the person convicted. Persons charged with offences punishable by death under the colonial law were tried by a court of three magistrates, of whom the chief magistrate was to be one, and he was to preside. If they

were not unanimous in finding the prisoner guilty, he was discharged; if they differed as to the sentence, their proposals were submitted to the governor for his decision. No sentence of death could be carried out except upon the warrant of the governor.

All trials were to take place in open court, the evidence was to be recorded, and a return of all cases tried in the inferior courts was to be sent to the chief magistrate at the end of every month.

Each district was placed under the superintendence of one of the principal chiefs, who was to be consulted by the governor's agent in distributing the ground among the people. The chief was required to use his influence in collecting the hut tax, and was allowed a percentage of the receipts. He could try any civil or any petty criminal case occurring in his district, but had no assistance given to him to enforce his decisions, and his having tried a case did not prevent a suitor from bringing it afterwards before the magistrate.*

The hut-tax was fixed at ten shillings a year for each hut occupied by a family or a single man. When two or more wives of a man occupied the same hut, ten shillings was to be paid for each of them. This tax was made payable, either in money, or stock, or produce of the land, on the 1st of June in each year. Anyone neglecting to pay it was liable to have his property seized, or to be ejected. The headmen were responsible for the payment of the tax in their villages.

The sale of spirituous liquors was prohibited under a penalty of £10 for the first offence, and in addition to this fine the trading license was to be forfeited on a second conviction. All spirits found in such cases were to be destroyed. No firearms or ammunition could be sold with-

* Though this was the law, in practice the chiefs continued to try nearly all cases, except such as were brought by a member of one clan against a member of another; and public opinion was so greatly in their favour that they had no difficulty in causing their decisions to be carried out.

out the sanction in writing of the magistrate of the district, under a penalty not exceeding a fine of £500 or seven years' imprisonment with hard labour. Licenses to trade in other goods were to be paid for at the rate of £10 per annum or £1 per mensem for each shop or waggon.

Before the law all men were declared equal. The crimes punishable by death were murder and arson with intent to kill.* Infanticide was made punishable by imprisonment, and rape by flogging not exceeding fifty lashes, or confiscation of property, or both.† Forcible seizure of property, except by order of a magistrate in course of law, was declared to be theft. Forcibly compelling any one to be circumcised, or circumcising any one without the consent of parents or guardians, was declared to be assault.‡ Practising or pretending to practise witchcraft, or falsely accusing any one of doing so, was declared to be roguery. All other acts against person or property which were punishable by the colonial law were declared punishable in the Lesuto, due allowance being made for circumstances.

Punishments were to be inflicted either by fines, or imprisonment,** or flogging; but no female was to be flogged.

* Under Bantu law murder and arson when committed by common people were usually punished by a fine of ten head of cattle. Culpable homicide was punished by a fine of four or five head of cattle. The degree of punishment depended upon the rank of the offender and upon that of his victim. Death was inflicted for acts of treason against the chief and for being pronounced by a witchfinder guilty of having caused any great calamity. A man caught in the act of stealing cattle at night could be killed with impunity. A notorious thief whose conduct was likely to get his tribe into difficulty was usually put to death by order of his chief.

† Under Bantu law these crimes were very leniently dealt with. The first was hardly noticed at all.

‡ Moshesh and Letsie at one time were indifferent as to circumcision. Some of Letsie's sons were not circumcised. He would not punish those who practised it, but he said that he saw no advantage in it. Molitsane suppressed circumcision in the Bataung clan. The Zulus and Natal tribes have been uncircumcised since the practice was abolished by Tshaka.

** This is a method of punishment unknown to Bantu law. It necessitated the erection of prisons. On the 2nd of September authority was

Hardened criminals and those who had not sufficient property to pay fines were to be flogged, not exceeding thirty-six lashes.

No woman could be compelled to marry a man against her will. Marriage by a minister of the Christian religion was declared to be as binding as if performed according to the custom of the country. No marriage, however performed, was to be considered valid unless within twenty days thereafter the parties to it declared their consent before a magistrate, and caused it to be registered. A registration fee of two shillings and sixpence was made payable. In every marriage contract the cattle to be transferred to the woman's family were to be registered, or no action at law could thereafter be entertained concerning them.* Either survivor of a marriage was to be entitled to the custody of the children until the males were eighteen and the females sixteen years of age. In all cases where marriages were not registered, the woman was to be entitled to the custody of the children. A widow was to be free to marry again, but in this case the custody of the children was to be transferred to some relative of the deceased husband to be selected by the magistrate.

These regulations were to come in force on the 1st of December 1871. They had been laid before the Basuto chiefs and leading men at the meeting on the 22nd of December 1870, and Letsie had agreed to them, but some of the clauses were very objectionable to the great body of the people. In particular, the tribe was not prepared for such a revolution in the position of women. The veneering of civilisation in even that section of the people which was under missionary influence was very thin, and the families

issued by the governor to build prisons and to employ at each seat of magistracy one chief constable at £36, one constable at £18, and two at £12 each per annum.

* This was not to affect marriages contracted before the 1st of December 1871, all cases in connection with which were to be decided according to the old customs.

to whom the guardianship of children by women seemed reasonable could not be reckoned by hundreds.

It had been a common practice for young men who were nominally Christians to get married by missionaries in churches, and afterwards to abandon these wives and take others according to Bantu custom. Their treatment of the cast-off women was regarded by the tribe as a mere joke, for in the eyes of the people they had not the status of wives.* Naturally fathers soon came to object to marriages in church, and required their daughters to take husbands according to the ancient custom, which provided some security against desertion or gross ill-treatment of married women. Thus public opinion, even in the small section of the people under missionary influence, was at this time in favour of the old system, under which a woman was throughout life a ward under protection. The nine-tenths of the people whose social views were not affected by missionary teaching had of course but one opinion. Thus these clauses in the regulations only caused irritation, without serving any good purpose.

With the establishment of British authority in the Lesuto the French missionaries returned to their labours. The territory retaken by Sir Philip Wodehouse from the Free State contained all their lost stations except four. At once they set about reorganising their work, establishing new church centres and opening new schools. Prior to this date the children in their schools had received instruction in no other language than their own. Though there were more than three thousand individuals in the country who could read Sesuto, Mr. Bowker was unable to obtain a single black interpreter, the few petty chiefs who understood English being considered untrustworthy by him. From this time

* One of the leading missionaries in the Lesuto wrote to the government about these marriages, which, as he said, were considered jokes. The remedy which he suggested was to make the wife in such a case entitled to a divorce. A layman may be pardoned for preferring to such a remedy the Bantu system when applied to people holding Bantu opinions regarding women and their status in society. Sir Henry Barkly declined to facilitate divorces.

forward the youths in the higher classes have been taught English also. In 1868 a training school for teachers was established at Morija. The government would have assisted with grants of money if there had been any revenue that could be applied to such a purpose, but before the close of 1871 state aid could not be given, and then it was only in the form of outfits for schools. In this year an establishment for training girls in the practice of such industries as are commonly engaged in by European females of the working class was opened by the reverend Mr. Jousse, and met a pressing need, as without such training young women could not become fitting wives for those males who were making progress towards civilisation.

On the 3rd of November 1871 the act of parliament by which the Lesuto was annexed to the Cape Colony was ratified by the queen in council, and the existence of the territory as a separate dependency of the crown was thus ended.

Weekly postal communication with other parts of the world was established from the 1st of January 1872 by means of runners from the seats of magistracy to Aliwal North on the southern bank of the Orange river.

Early in January 1872 a difficulty arose concerning the custom of letsima, or the enforced labour of the people in the gardens of the chiefs. Masupha had called out a number of men for this purpose, when one Motube, who was supposed to have been instigated by a European to resist, declined to appear. For this refusal Masupha caused him to be severely beaten, and he then appealed to the governor's agent for protection and redress. Mr. Griffith investigated the case, and sentenced the man who had assaulted the complainant to pay a fine, but neither he nor Masupha, under whose orders he had acted, would abide by the judgment. There were no means of enforcing the sentence, so Mr. Griffith applied to Letsie to carry it out, and that chief, pleased at his power being thus recognised, obliged Masupha to pay the fine.

On the 30th of January 1872 the governor's agent issued a circular to the magistrates, directing them to suppress the custom of letsima or enforced labour, but to recognise the custom of maboela, or the setting apart by the chiefs about the end of December of tracts of pasture land for winter use, after which all cattle trespassing thereon were liable to be impounded. This custom had also caused some discussion, and the people as well as the chiefs were opposed to its abolition.

It was found impossible, however, to suppress the system of compulsory labour for the benefit of the chiefs. On the 17th of February Major Bell reported that Molapo was threatening to enforce it, and that British rule was precarious in the district of Leribe. He added that he thought "the magistrate's authority should have the support of something more than it rested on, namely the prestige of the government." To this report the colonial secretary replied that the governor could not furnish any stronger force of the frontier armed and mounted police than the seventeen men then in the territory. But on the 11th of October, as the condition of the finances seemed to warrant it and the need for a constabulary of some kind was pressing, the governor's agent was authorised to raise a Basuto police force to consist of one inspector, two sub-inspectors, four sergeants, four corporals, and one hundred privates. By a careful selection of the men and judicious management this puny force was made of some service, but it could never be thoroughly relied upon to support the magistrates on all occasions.

Masupha still continued heedless of the governor's wishes that he should remove to the district assigned to him, but consented to change his residence from the top of Thaba Bosigo to a place near that mountain. As he could easily regain the stronghold upon any alarm being given, the movement did not affect his position in any way. Fortunately for the European authorities, a violent feud broke out between him and Jonathan, son of Molapo, concerning the ownership

of some ground on the southern bank of the Putiatsana, so that he was to some extent kept in awe by the knowledge that a considerable force could at any time be raised against him. He chafed, however, at any interference by Europeans with his authority over his people, and was known more than once to cause men who offended him to be put to death. This he could do without fear of the governor's agent, who had no means of controlling or punishing him for such acts, that were regarded by all the other chiefs as perfectly legitimate on his part.

Mr. Buchanan was still fomenting discontent with the existing order of things. At his instigation, on the 25th of February Letsie, Molapo, Masupha, and a number of the minor chiefs forwarded to Sir Henry Barkly a petition for representation in the Cape parliament. A more absurd request could not have been made. The governor directed Mr. Griffith to explain to the chiefs what the effect of representation would be, that colonial law in that case would entirely supersede Bantu law, so that the measure was inexpedient and undesirable. Thereupon the chiefs stated that they had affixed their marks to the petition in ignorance, that they desired to withdraw it, and were quite willing to be guided by the governor's advice. Mr. Griffith was also directed to warn Mr. Buchanan against further agitation, and to acquaint him that if this warning had no effect, the colonial law against Kaffir emissaries would be put in force. He had not yet received payment from the Basuto of the expense he had incurred in his visit to England, so Mr. Griffith induced the chiefs to collect cattle by a tribal subscription to settle his claim and then to cease intercourse with him.

On the 19th of August a commission was appointed by the governor, in accordance with a resolution of the house of assembly, to enquire into and report upon the laws and customs of the Basuto and on the operation of the regulations established for their government. This commission did not enter very deeply into the matter, but took such evidence

as was at hand, and on the 30th of December sent in a report, which was printed as a pamphlet and made to serve the purpose of a handbook for the European officials in the territory.

There was much less difficulty in collecting taxes than in exercising judicial authority, as the jealousy of the chiefs was not aroused by it. They did not yet comprehend that the money so raised might be used to undermine their power, and they were allowed to deduct a large commission before transferring the balance, so that they acted as tax gatherers with perfect good will. The actual revenue for the year that ended on the 31st of May 1872 was

Hut-tax	£5,296 16 5
Licenses	527 0 0
Fines, fees, &c.	73 17 4
Grain passes	13 9 3
Fees for marriage registration	10 0 0
Fees for transfer of licenses	6 0 0
	£5,927 3 0

The expenditure during the same period was

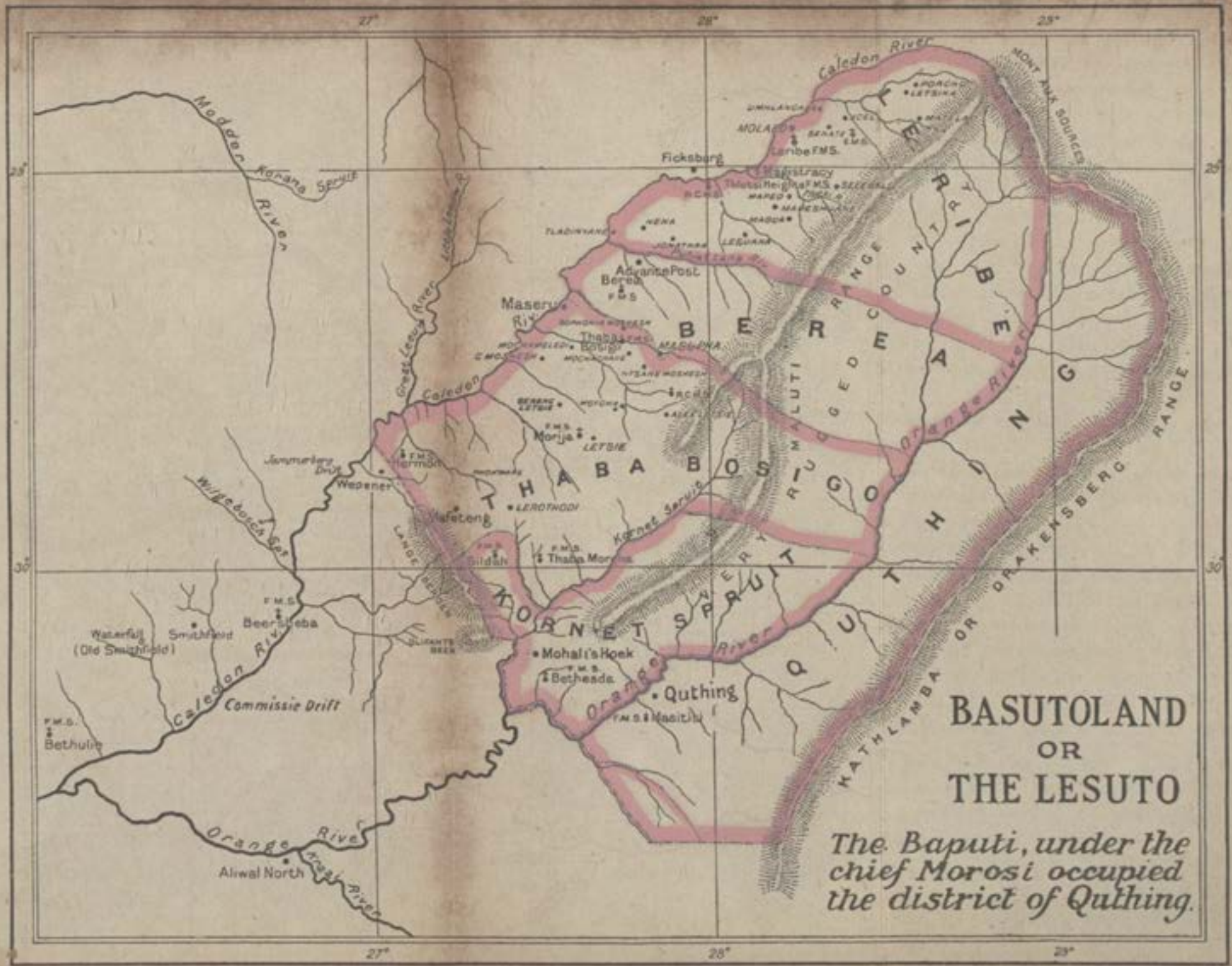
Salaries and allowances	£4,095 6 11
Works and buildings	500 0 0
Transport	168 4 6
Education	66 0 0
Collection of hut-tax	34 11 0
Miscellaneous	6 10 3
	£4,870 12 8

In 1872 the Paris evangelical society employed fifteen European missionaries and sixty-five Basuto catechists and schoolmasters in the territory. It occupied nine centres, with forty-five outstations, and had two thousand two hundred and twenty-nine church members and two thousand and forty-six children attending its schools. In this year and in this mission, which had done so much not only for

the elevation but for the preservation of the Basuto, the beginning of that pernicious revolt against European guidance, now known as the Ethiopian movement, took place. At the station of Hermon one hundred and fifty-eight individuals, previously church members, renounced the control of the missionaries, and declared their intention to conform to no other church regulations than those made by themselves. After a time these people were induced to return to the church, but the desire for independence was not eradicated, it was merely dormant. Many years later it spread to numerous Bantu mission stations in South Africa, and it is now threatening incalculable harm to the cause of progress in civilisation. In 1872 it attracted very little attention, except among the members of the French mission.

Other religious denominations were labouring in Basutoland at this time, but their operations were small compared with those of the French evangelical mission. The Roman catholic church was, however, extending its work rapidly, and the English episcopal church was endeavouring to obtain a firm foothold in the country. It is open to doubt whether this multiplication of religious bodies did not tend upon the whole to retard rather than to promote the advancement of the Basuto towards European ways of thinking, for it caused much confusion among them, and observant black men were often heard to remark at public meetings that it would be time enough for them to attend to the exhortations of the missionaries when these agreed among themselves.

XIII.



BASUTOLAND OR THE LESUTO

The Baputi, under the chief Morosi occupied the district of Quthing.

CHAPTER LXIV.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE TO THE CLOSE OF 1870.

Discovery of Diamonds and its consequences.

IN a previous chapter it was stated that Mr. David Arnot, agent-at-law, on behalf of the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer laid claim to the Campbell district, west of the Vaal river, and also to a large strip of territory east of the Vaal, that had formed part of the European section of the Orange River Sovereignty and was transferred by Sir George Clerk to the assembly that established the Orange Free State. The Griqua clan under Nicholas Waterboer has not been mentioned frequently in these pages, because after 1848 it took no part in any event of importance. With Andries Waterboer, father of Nicholas, a treaty had been made by Sir Benjamin D'Urban in December 1834, in which the chief undertook "to protect that portion of the colonial border opposite to his own, namely the line from Kheis on the Orange river to Ramah, against all enemies and marauders from the interior who might attempt to pass through his territory." This treaty originated with the missionaries of the London society, who were desirous of securing for Waterboer the recognised position of captain of Griquatown. He had been a teacher in one of their schools, and was elected to be captain of the station when the Koks and Barend Barends moved away to other localities.

In the treaty of 1834 there is no definition of boundaries except that in the clause above quoted, and indeed the government not of Andries Waterboer only, but of all the

Griqua captains, was at that time tribal rather than territorial. The Griquas, who were the latest intruders, did not claim or attempt to exercise jurisdiction over the Korana and Batlapin clans among whom they were living, and who had for many years been wandering about in the territory west of the Vaal. In the treaty it was necessary to define the extent of border along which Andries Waterboer undertook to perform police duty in return for a certain consideration, and so the line from Kheis to Ramah was named. At that time the Griquas had outposts south of the Orange, and in Sir Benjamin D'Urban's despatches to the secretary of state he expressly mentions that they were occupying both banks of the river.

In a conversation with several of the captains, Sir Peregrine Maitland stated that Waterboer's country might adjoin that of Adam Kok, and Kok's western boundary had then been fixed by treaty from Ramah on the Orange to David's Graf at the junction of the Riet and Modder. But whether Waterboer could claim along the whole of that line, or only along the southern portion of it, was not decided. Owing to there being no Europeans in the district which his clan occupied, and no likelihood of any ever trying to settle there or to pass through in search of vacant land beyond, Dr. Philip and the colonial government did not consider it necessary to make any fresh arrangements with him when the treaty states under Adam Kok, Moshesh, and Faku were created.

Sir Harry Smith treated Andries Waterboer in the same common-sense manner as he treated Adam Kok, Cornelis Kok, and Moshesh. He took from none of them anything to which they had a moral right or of which they were making proper use; but he deprived all of them of large tracts of land to which they had no other title than expressions of preceding governors made in ignorance of their history, or treaties that had produced nothing but discord and bloodshed. Adam Kok and Moshesh were induced by him to attach their names to agreements which destroyed

the treaty states; Cornelis Kok and Andries Waterboer were dealt with on the same principle, but as there was no treaty with one of them and the treaty with the other did not define any boundaries, it was not necessary to obtain their consent in writing to new arrangements. On the 17th of December 1847 Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation, without the slightest reference to Andries Waterboer, in which the Cape Colony was extended to the Orange river along its whole course; and on the 3rd of February 1848 he proclaimed her Majesty's sovereignty over the entire territory between the Orange and the Vaal, without any regard to either Cornelis Kok or Andries Waterboer.

No right of property was disturbed by these proclamations. Whatever land in the country south of the Orange and east of the Vaal was in possession of individuals—which was very little indeed—remained to them to retain or to sell as they chose; but the dominion of these two Griqua captains and their councils was there replaced by that of her Majesty's government. The captains were not deposed, nor were their rights of dominion in any way disturbed in the districts where they resided and where their people — with very few exceptions — lived. These districts were north of the Orange and west of the Vaal. Cornelis Kok remained with sovereign power over his retainers at Campbell, and Andries Waterboer remained with the same powers at Griquatown.

In December 1852 Andries Waterboer died. The people of Griquatown then elected his son Nicholas as his successor, and applied to the high commissioner for a renewal with him of the treaty of 1834. But this the high commissioner declined. The treaty of 1834 was personal, they were informed, and ceased to be of effect upon the death of the captain with whom it had been made. The policy of the imperial government at this time was entirely opposed to such treaties.

The Free State government acted towards Nicholas Waterboer in a most considerate manner. The volksraad approved,

with a slight alteration, of the boundary laid down by Adam Kok as arbitrator between his district and that of Cornelis Kok in October 1855, and thereafter he was treated not only as owner but as sovereign of the territory east of the Vaal enclosed by the Orange river, the line from Ramah towards David's Graf, and the Vetberg line.

Waterboer's people at this time were retrograding in civilisation. They never were in the advanced state of improvement described in mission reports of earlier years, but they had once been in possession of a large amount of property. Such prosperity as they had enjoyed a generation before had now nearly disappeared, owing partly to causes beyond their control, partly to their conceit and indolence.

The territory occupied by the clan is a continuation of the great plain stretching westward from the Maluti range, though portions of its surface are broken by ranges of hills. The plain becomes more arid as one advances westward, and the pasturage gradually gets thinner until finally the desert is reached. There is not a single permanently flowing river in the whole district of Griquatown. Along the Orange, which is its southern boundary, a strip of land some ten miles or sixteen kilometres in breadth is an absolute desert. The soil elsewhere consists, in general, of only a few inches of sand overlying strata impenetrable by rain. It is, therefore, a country in which agriculture cannot be carried on, except in a few situations where there are fountains or where the water that occasionally falls in torrents can be conserved. For some reason, as yet unexplained, the country has been drying up, and fountains which the first missionaries found yielding water sufficient to irrigate large areas of ground do not now rise to the surface.

It is a region of protracted droughts and terrible electrical storms. When rain falls, it is often in a destructive deluge, and is usually confined to a narrow belt. A bank of vapour, whose blackness is intensified by streaks of the most vivid

lightning playing upon it, is seen rapidly advancing over the plain. The air is oppressively calm and hot, and as the storm-cloud rushes on, in advance may be heard a low moaning sound, caused by the vibrations which it communicates to the atmosphere. Beneath the cloud water is falling, not in drops but in sheets, while the roar of thunder is almost continuous and deafening. In the midst of a storm like this the stoutest heart is appalled, and even wild animals are helpless with fear. In from five minutes to an hour the bank passes over, and leaves behind it miniature lakes in every hollow and gullies on every slope. Several years may pass without such a storm, but very grand electrical displays, in which no rain falls, are frequent. In the summer season much discomfort is often caused by sand and dust being caught up by whirlwinds and blown about until the air is darkened. Under such conditions, the construction of reservoirs for storing water requires an amount of engineering skill beyond that which the Griqua is capable of acquiring.

But these people never depended upon agriculture. The ten or a dozen gardens, and orchards, and rows of trees along watercourses, of which glowing accounts can be found in mission reports, were really due to the labour of the missionaries themselves and of a few blacks who had been slaves in the Cape Colony. The early prosperity of the Griquas was derived from the chase. For many years after their settlement at Klaarwater or Griquatown, they were without rivals in this pursuit, than which nothing could be more congenial to their habits. With ivory, ostrich feathers, whips of hippopotamus and rhinoceros hide, and skins of lions, jackals, and other animals, they obtained in the Cape Colony waggons, rifles, ammunition, English clothing, coffee, sugar, and whatever else they needed or had a fancy for. The dried flesh of antelopes was their principal food. Their excursions in pursuit of game extended far into the heart of South Africa, and often lasted five or six months. In these expeditions the women usually accompanied their

husbands, though the children were left behind under care of some aged relative, and lived mainly upon milk until their parents' return.

This condition of prosperity lasted until European hunters —chiefly those of Zoutpansberg—supplanted the Griquas in the interior, and all the large game in their neighbourhood was destroyed. An enterprising people would then have turned their attention to breeding sheep and oxen, but this branch of industry was generally neglected. Those who tried it became disheartened on the outbreak of a new disease which destroyed great numbers of horned cattle. Traders were now among them, with Cape brandy as the principal article for sale, and what property was left soon disappeared. Indolence, almost surpassing description, and conceit, born of past prosperity and fostered by the thought that they had a tinge of European blood in their veins, prevented them from making any effort to improve their condition. In 1870 some five or six hundred individuals of both sexes and all ages, most of whom were steeped in poverty and wretchedness, constituted the Griqua clan under Nicholas Waterboer. Any influence that they once had with the Koranas and Batlapin in that part of the country had long since been lost, and there was no possibility of their ever regaining it.

The clan occupied the territory called the district of Griquatown, which was north of the Orange and west of the Vaal. Some of the Batlapin chiefs asserted that they were the proper owners of it, as they had taken it from the Bushmen before the arrival of either Koranas or Griquas, but no white man disputed the Griqua right, or attempted to get possession of land there.

Waterboer's sovereignty was also undisputed in the district east of the Vaal, and enclosed by the Vetberg line, the line from Ramah towards David's Graf, and the Orange river. This tract of country had recently acquired the name of Albania, and was partly occupied by white people under a plan of settlement devised by Mr. Arnot.

In January 1867 circulars were issued in Waterboer's name in and about Grahamstown, offering farms of three thousand morgen in extent on lease for twenty-one years, at rentals varying from £5 to £25 a year, according to the quality of the land. The leases were to be renewable on the same terms for as long a period as the occupants or their heirs or successors might choose. A council of lessees was practically to form a government, though public documents were to run in Waterboer's name. A portion of the rents was to be at the disposal of the council for public purposes. This plan of settlement was intended to give Waterboer a revenue until the occupiers of the farms might choose to repudiate him, and under any circumstances he could lose nothing except his sovereignty over ground which his own people were too few and too feeble to make use of.

Some ten or a dozen Englishmen accepted the terms offered, and took up their abode in Albania. To this, no reasonable objection could be offered by anyone. When issuing his circulars, however, Mr. Arnot attached a map to them, in which Waterboer's territory was made to comprise not only the districts of Griquatown and Albania, which really belonged to him, but the district of Campbell, west of the Vaal and adjoining Griquatown, and portions of the districts of Boshof and Jacobsdal, east of the Vaal and included in the Orange Free State from the day it came into existence. This was brought to the notice of the government at Bloemfontein, and on the 14th of March 1867 an advertisement was inserted in the newspapers by the state secretary — Mr. J. C. Nielen Marais — warning all persons against having anything to do with the scheme.

The territory east of the Vaal and north of Albania, which Mr. Arnot claimed for Waterboer, having formed part of the European section of the Sovereignty from 1848 to 1854 and having been transferred in 1854 by Sir George Clerk to the provisional government which established the Orange Free State, was not regarded by President Brand and the volksraad as subject to dispute. The Vetberg line, however,

which separated it from Albania, was not marked by beacons along its whole course as clearly as it should have been. On the 12th of May 1869, therefore, the volksraad approved of a commission being appointed by the president to examine it and define it distinctly, in conjunction with persons named by Waterboer. Messrs. C. W. Hutton, F. McCabe, and D. J. van Niekerk were chosen to form the commission. On his part, Waterboer agreed to a meeting on the 31st of May at Swinkspan, one of the three farms which Adam Kok allotted to him when laying down the Vetberg line in 1855, but which the government of the Free State kept possession of, as it was held under a British title issued in 1849. The farm was included in the district of Jacobsdal.

But when the commission reached the place appointed, Waterboer did not appear. In his stead, Mr. Arnot was there, and he repudiated the Vetberg line altogether. For his client he asserted a claim to all that portion of the Free State situated west of a line from David's Graf near the junction of the Riet and Modder rivers to Platberg on the Vaal river, stating that it had once been under the government of Waterboer's father, and that no one but he had a right to dispose of it. The Free State commission did not attempt to argue the matter, as they might as well have discussed the ownership of the market square of Bloemfontein. Instead, they proceeded to erect beacons along the Vetberg line, William Corner, who was Cornelis Kok's son-in-law and who was present when Adam Kok acted as arbitrator in October 1855, pointing out the boundary then made wherever it was doubtful.

The other tract of land claimed by Mr. Arnot on behalf of Nicholas Waterboer was the Campbell district, west of the Vaal. The Griqua pretensions to the ownership of this ground were treated with every consideration by the president and the volksraad of the Orange Free State, as the title on which their own claim was based—the deed of sale by Adam Kok as heir of Cornelis Kok—was open to dispute, though they believed their case was a good one. In 1864

Sir Philip Wodehouse was requested to arbitrate in the matter, and consented to do so, but Waterboer declined to sign the deed of submission after it had been drawn up by the attorney-general of the Cape Colony. Mr. Arnot wished to include the land east of the Vaal, and Waterboer would only act by his advice. Then the Basuto war of 1865-6 occupied the attention of the Free State government, to the exclusion of less pressing matters.

On the 21st of January 1867 Mr. Arnot brought the matter on again, by offering to submit his client's claim to the arbitration of Sir Philip Wodehouse, provided the land east of the Vaal and north of the Vetberg line should be included in the dispute. The Free State government rejected this offer, as they would not admit that there was any valid ground of contention concerning territory that had been transferred to them by Sir George Clerk, and in which many of the farms were held under British titles. On the 20th of June, therefore, the volksraad resolved that if Waterboer would not consent within four months to refer the question of the ownership of the Campbell district, without reference to any other territory, to the arbitration and decision of Sir Philip Wodehouse, the president should send a commission to inspect the ground preparatory to further action being taken. But the difficulties which followed with the Basuto, and which necessitated a call of the burghers to arms within a month after the adoption of this resolution, absorbed the attention of the Free State government; and this matter was allowed to stand over till a more convenient time.

On the 31st of March 1870 President Brand had a conference with Waterboer at Backhouse, and the captain then consented to submit the question of the ownership of the Campbell district alone to the arbitration of Sir Philip Wodehouse. The president forwarded a deed of submission duly signed by both parties, but on the 5th of May the high commissioner replied that he was unable to act in the matter, as he was about to leave South Africa.

The volksraad then sent Messrs. Steyn and Höhne to Waterboer to endeavour to induce him to come to some friendly arrangement. They succeeded in obtaining his promise to appoint a commission to meet one from the Free State, with power to settle the dispute. It was agreed that the commissions should meet on the 15th of August at Nooitgedacht, near the ford on the Vaal river known as Klipdrift.

The commissioners of the Free State were President Brand and the members of the executive council, namely Mr. F. K. Höhne, government secretary, Mr. F. McCabe, landdrost of Bloemfontein, and Messrs. M. Steyn, J. W. Louw, and Jeremias Venter. Attorney C. J. Vels accompanied the commission to conduct the case, and the secretary of the volksraad was employed to keep a record of the proceedings.

On arriving at a farm named Nooitgedacht at the appointed time, the commission found no representatives of the Griqua clan; but next day they learned that the kraal of the Korana captain Barend Bloem north of the Vaal bore the same name, and that Waterboer was there in waiting. Accordingly they proceeded to Bloem's kraal, and on the 18th the conference commenced. Waterboer was accompanied by seven of the Griqua councillors, and by Mr. Arnot and Attorney D. C. Grant to conduct his case. The meetings took place in a tent pitched for the occasion. A large number of people, either interested in the case or drawn together by curiosity, had assembled to watch the proceedings. A commission from the South African Republic, consisting of President Pretorius, Mr. John Robert Lys, member of the volksraad, and the state secretary Proes, was there also, and desired to be admitted as a party to the dispute, for the government at Pretoria claimed territory that was supposed to overlap a portion of the Campbell district. Neither the Free State nor the Griqua commission, however, would consent to admit a third party at this stage of the proceedings.

Waterboer's case was first stated. It rested chiefly on the following grounds:

(*a*) The treaty between Sir Benjamin D'Urban and his father in 1834, which proved nothing relevant.

(*b*) A treaty between his father and Adam Kok, dated on the 9th of November 1838, in which all the land west of a line from Ramah on the Orange to Platberg on the Vaal was assigned to Andries Waterboer, and Cornelis Kok was completely ignored. This document was regarded as of great importance on the Griqua side of the controversy. But in reality it was of no more value than the treaty of Dover would be in a dispute between France and the Netherlands. Just before it was made the elder Adam Kok, to whom Dr. Philip had given the district of Philippolis, died, and his sons Abraham and Adam fought for the succession. Cornelis Kok aided his nephew Abraham, and Andries Waterboer aided Adam. The treaty was a division of territory between two allies against a common enemy. Abraham Kok was defeated, but his uncle Cornelis Kok held his own, was not subdued, and many years later was not only reconciled with the nephew against whom he had fought, but made that nephew his heir. Under such circumstances, the treaty of 1838 could not in justice be held to favour Waterboer's claim in the least.

(*c*) A treaty between his father and the Batlapin captain Mahura, dated on the 22nd of April 1842. This was an arrangement—if it was valid, which the Batlapin have ever since persistently denied — concerning territory to which neither of the contracting parties had any right or title, and affecting numerous clans and captains who knew nothing whatever of its existence.

(*d*) An assertion that Cornelis Kok had no right to dispose of land, he having been subordinate to Waterboer. It was hardly necessary to disprove this assertion, which was made in defiance of well-known historical facts; but the Free State commission did so by overwhelming testimony, including correspondence of Waterboer himself.

Further, Waterboer's case rested on ignoring many events connected with the Griquas since 1847, repudiating Sir Harry Smith's acts, turning his back upon his own doings before 1863, and making a stand upon rights alleged to have belonged to his father by implied consent of wandering clans at the time when the policy of building up large Bantu and Griqua states was favoured by the imperial government. He brought forward nothing that could substantiate his claim in the opinion of President Brand and the other Free State commissioners.

But he had as advocate and adviser a man of consummate skill in such matters, who made it a principle to contest a case to the very last point, and who felt a pleasure in fighting a legal battle with tremendous odds against him. There was no one else in South Africa so well qualified as Mr. Arnot to represent the Griqua captain. And he bore no love to the republics, so that his heart was in the task he had set himself to accomplish, which was to get as much territory as possible admitted to be Waterboer's, that it could afterwards be transferred to her Majesty's government. On the fifth day of the conference, when every one else considered the Griqua case completely broken down, he proposed that the evidence of the Griqua councillors who were present should be taken as to the status of Cornelis Kok. The Free State commission objected to their appearance as witnesses, because they were sitting in the capacity of judges. The objection does not seem to have been founded on good grounds, because if the councillors had any special knowledge they would make use of it when giving their votes in the final judgment, and the Free State commissioners would be in no worse position by hearing it.

The proposal was pressed, so the president and his associates asked for time to consider it, and the meeting was adjourned. Before it was opened again Mr. Arnot addressed the president in writing, asking if the government of the Free State would promise and undertake upon the conclusion of this question to submit the claim of

Waterboer to land east of the Vaal to the arbitration of Sir Philip Wodehouse's successor as high commissioner. The president replied, declining to do so. Upon this, the Griqua commission withdrew from the conference, and on the following day the members abruptly left Nooitgedacht, without notifying their intention to do so or taking leave of the other party.

A meeting then took place between the commissions of the Free State and the South African Republic. The latter claimed the territory north of the Vaal and east of the Hart, down to the junction of those rivers. After some discussion and production of documents, the Free State commission announced that it made no pretension to authority or ownership there. Messrs. Pretorius, Lys, and Proes expressed themselves satisfied, and the conference ended.

Having thus failed in obtaining an amicable settlement of the dispute with Waterboer, and being convinced that the pretensions made by Mr. Arnot on behalf of that captain were untenable, on the 29th of August 1870 President Brand, with the advice and consent of the executive council, issued from the Berlin mission station of Pniel a proclamation declaring the Campbell district, west of the Vaal river, the property of the Orange Free State. Its boundaries, as defined in the proclamation, were the Vaal river from the junction with the Hart down to the ford known as Koukonop Drift, thence a well-known and long-recognised line separating the districts of Griqua-town and Campbell, and thence various points in the desert round to the starting place.

At this time the minds of Europeans throughout South Africa were entirely occupied by one fascinating subject, the discovery of diamonds. After the exhausting wars with the Basuto, the disastrous occurrences at Zoutpansberg, and the severe depression in agriculture and trade caused by a drought which had prevailed for several years in the Cape Colony, almost anything that could brighten the prospects of

the people would have been felt as a relief. And a marvellous change, not less than a complete revolution, from despondency to hope, from adversity to prosperity, had unexpectedly taken place.

Early in 1867 a farmer named Schalk van Niekerk, who resided in the district of Hopetown, in the Cape Colony, happening to call at the house of a neighbour, observed one of the children playing with a remarkably brilliant pebble. Small stones of different colours and various degrees of beauty are found in the bed of the Orange river along the whole of its upper course, and their appearance was familiar to every one in the Hopetown district. But this one with which the child was playing reflected the light in a different and more beautiful way than the pebbles ordinarily met with. The mistress of the house, on hearing Mr. Van Niekerk express his admiration of the stone, without any hesitation made him a present of it. Some little time after this, a trader named O'Reilly was in Van Niekerk's company, when the glittering pebble was shown to him as a curiosity. He instantly suspected it to be a diamond, and, after obtaining possession of it, sent it first to Grahamstown to Dr. Atherstone, and afterwards to Capetown to M. Herite, the French consul, to be tested. These gentlemen pronounced it to be a diamond. The gem weighed twenty-one carats, and was sold to the governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, for £500.

Search was immediately commenced by several persons in the Hopetown district, and shortly a second diamond was found. Then, a third was picked up on the bank of the Vaal river, and attention was drawn to that quarter. During 1868 several gems were found, and in March 1869 the "Star of South Africa" was obtained from a Batlapin witchfinder, who had been in possession of it for a long time without the least idea of its value other than as a powerful charm. It was a magnificent brilliant of eighty-three carats weight when uncut, and it was readily sold for £11,000.

Still, belief in the existence of diamond-mines so close at hand was not widespread. Most people were of opinion that the gems had been accidentally lost, or concluded that ostriches had brought them from some far distant region of the interior. This was the belief of a professed expert who was sent out by a diamond merchant in England to inspect the country about Hopetown and report upon it.

But by the close of 1869 it had been proved that diamonds in large numbers were to be found along the northern bank of the Vaal, above the junction of the Hart, where some hundreds had been picked up by Koranas. In all parts of South Africa companies of diggers began to be fitted out. First to commence work was a party from Natal, who selected Hebron, close to the kraal of the Korana captain Barend Bloem, as a likely spot. Through the influence of Mr. Stafford Parker, an old trader in that part of the country, Bloem permitted the search to be carried on without molesting the strangers. Next to arrive was a party from King-Williamstown. The whole of the colonies and independent states were in such a wretchedly depressed condition that a large proportion of the population was ready to embark in any enterprise that would provide a subsistence. Diamond seeking held out better prospects than that. Mechanics and clerks, professional men and labourers, farmers and merchants, all who had nothing particular to do at the time, imagined that fortunes were to be made on the bank of the Vaal. That barren region, hitherto so lonely, began to resound with the bustle and din of an activity such as South Africa never before had witnessed in modern times.

It was extremely hard work, digging for diamonds; but men, whose lives had been passed in idleness, laboured there with a will. Emulation and excitement brought out powers hitherto latent, which surprised the diggers themselves. Along the Vaal diamonds were not found where they had originally been formed. An ancient mine must have been eaten into and worn away by the river, which did not

always flow in its present channel. The diamonds were washed down and deposited amid débris of all kinds, of which enormous boulders formed the principal ingredient. The masses of rock had to be removed before the ground could be taken out and conveyed to the stream, there to be washed in a cradle and the pebbles remaining to be sorted. Under the burning sun this labour was performed, willingly and cheerfully.

Along the river, camps of canvas tents rose as by magic. If a diamond was discovered in a new locality, the next day saw a camp there, the ground marked out, and diggers at work. For eighty or a hundred kilometres above the confluence of the Hart and the Vaal a crowd of men swayed backwards and forwards. The largest camp was at Klipdrift, now known as Barkly West, where a great many diamonds were found.

The territory in which these diamond-fields were situated was claimed by the South African Republic, and was included in the district of Bloemhof. But it was claimed also by the Barolong as part of their country, by the Batlapin as part of theirs, and by a Korana clan as its lawful inheritance. Last of all, Mr. David Arnot claimed it on behalf of Nicholas Waterboer.

The diggers did not trouble themselves about settling the question of ownership of the ground. At Hebron, the highest camp on the river, the authority of the South African Republic was acknowledged, and probably no resistance to this state would have been shown elsewhere if it had not been for an egregious blunder committed by the government. Just before the volksraad ended its session in June 1870, and when only twelve members were present, the executive was authorised to grant a concession of mining privileges to one of two companies that had made application. Upon this authority President Pretorius and the executive council granted to the firm of Messrs. A. J. Munnich, J. M. Posno, and H. B. Webb the exclusive right to search for diamonds in the territory along the Vaal above

the junction of the Hart, for twenty-one years from the 22nd of June 1870. The firm bound itself to pay a royalty of six per cent upon the diamonds found, which for that purpose were to be reckoned at £3 a carat irrespective of the size of the gems.

This concession utterly destroyed the authority of the South African Republic in all the lower camps. The diggers would not acknowledge the monopoly, and announced that they would resist with arms any attempt to enforce it. In the villages of the republic also objections to it were raised, as being most impolitic. The constitution required the executive council to give three months notice in the *Staats Courant* of all important laws to be brought before the volksraad, and as this course had not been observed, there was a general expression of opinion that the proceedings were illegal. The government was obliged to cancel the concession. But it was then too late. By that time the diggers at each camp had elected a committee to frame regulations for its government, and to carry them out. At Klipdrift a free republic was established, and Mr. Stafford Parker was elected president.

Upon discovering the effects of the error, President Pretorius visited the camps along the Vaal, and endeavoured to allay the irritation that was prevalent. He succeeded in making himself personally popular, but he was unable to restore confidence in a government at Pretoria, though he made offers of very large powers of local rule. On the 1st of September he wrote to the chairmen of the committees that the territory east of the Hart was part of the South African Republic, but that circumstances being peculiar there, he considered an entirely different system of government, according to the wishes of the diggers, must be adopted. He proposed to give them the right to elect their own officials, who were to be invested with extraordinary powers, and he desired that delegates should be elected by the people to meet him and discuss the best way in which the interests of the diggers could be promoted.

This overture was followed by a proclamation, dated at Klipdrift on the 10th of September 1870, in which the right of the South African Republic to the territory east of the Hart river was asserted, and the following basis of government was laid down:

"Whereas since the discovery of diamonds it is desirable to make particular regulations to promote the interests of the diggers and the residents in the said territory, be it known

"1. That the territory from the junction of the Hart river and the Vaal river, the latter river upwards to the Berris-drift, also called Hartebeest-hoorn, thence to the banks of the Hart river, in the direction of Enkele Kameelboom, shall never be given out in farms, but be kept exclusively for digging purposes, and be a separate district.

"2. That the said district shall have the name of Diamond District.

"3. That in the said district no special concession or preferent right shall be given to any one.

"4. That the English currency shall be the lawful currency in this territory.

"5. That the English language shall be the official language to be used in all courts.

"6. That considering the distance from the seat of government, a local executive of three members shall be appointed provisionally by me, to be approved of by the residents of the said territory.

"7. That the said executive shall assist the diggers in all possible ways, and subject to my approval frame laws, appoint officers, direct the laying out of towns, but carefully abstain from interfering in the administration of justice.

"8. That a resident magistrate shall be appointed for the administration of justice and the preservation of order, being as a judge independent of the executive.

"9. That nine heemraden shall be elected, four of whom, with the magistrate, shall form a court of appeal.

"10. That capital crimes shall belong to the jurisdiction of two magistrates and twelve jurymen.

"11. That for the salaries of the said officials, as well as for the payment of a proper police force, a license shall be paid by every digger: five shillings for three months.

"12. That no resident can be compelled to any commando or burgher duty, unless for the protection of the aforesaid diggers' territory."

At the same time that President Pretorius was offering these concessions, the ground was being claimed by a man

named Theodor Doms, who styled himself political agent of the Barolong and Batlapin tribes, and who was in correspondence with the high commissioner concerning what he termed the rights of his clients. He also was ready to make almost unbounded concessions, if only his authority was recognised. The result was that parties were formed: one in favour of a free republic without acknowledgment of any of the claimants, another in favour of requesting the high commissioner to establish British authority, a third in favour of submission to the South African Republic, a fourth in favour of self-rule under pretence of an agreement with Doms acting in the name of the Barolong and Batlapin. It is needless to speculate as to how the dispute might have ended, for before a critical point was reached, richer deposits of diamonds were discovered elsewhere, and nearly all the diggers removed from the northern bank of the Vaal.

Early in 1870 diamonds were found by prospectors on the Free State side of the river, and in June of this year a party of men set to work on the mission station of Pniel, although the reverend Mr. Kallenberg, who was then the resident clergyman, ordered them away. The ground turned out to be particularly rich, and the missionary was then obliged to come to terms with the diggers and consent to their remaining on condition of one-fourth of the value of the gems found being paid to him for the directors of the Berlin society. The camp at this place rapidly increased in size. After the conference at Nooitgedacht it was visited by President Brand and the executive council of the Free State, who recognised at once that a court of justice on the spot was necessary, as the village of Jacobsdal, where the landdrost of the district resided, was more than forty miles or sixty-four kilometres distant. On the 29th of August 1870 Mr. Olof Johannes Truter, a gentleman of well-known ability, was appointed commissioner of the diamond-fields on the Free State side of the river, with the same power as a landdrost. He was to reside at Pniel, and hold a court there.

A little later in the year rumours spread that richer deposits were to be found far away from the river. Some children of a farmer named Van Wyk, residing at Dorstfontein, on the rim of a saucer-like depression of the ground known as Dutoitspan, had picked several small diamonds from the mud with which their dwelling was plastered. Forthwith search was made in the place from which the mud had been taken, and diamonds were found. A party of diggers hastened to Dutoitspan, and found several farmers, friends of the proprietor, already at work. They asked permission to dig, and offered to pay a reasonable fee to the owner of the ground, but were ordered away. The farmer did not want them there. But as they would not leave, he was obliged to come to terms, and the dry diggings — as they were called—were opened at Dorstfontein.

Dutoitspan was situated in a part of the Free State that thirty years earlier had been just on the border of the Griqua territory under the government of Cornelis Kok. The country in its neighbourhood had never been occupied by Griquas, except at a fountain here and there, but Kok claimed the land as far east as a line from the junction of the Riet and Modder rivers to Platberg on the Vaal, and his claim was recognised by the emigrant farmers. Such a line would pass on one side of Dorstfontein or the other, according to what part of Platberg was made the terminal point. It had never been marked by beacons. A large tract of land adjoining it on the east had been purchased in 1839 by Mr. D. S. Fourie from the Bushman captain David Danser, but only the crudest kind of measurement had been used to determine the positions of the farms, so that an opinion could be formed as to whether they were in Kok's district or in that obtained from Danser. If a farm was believed to be west of the line, Europeans who fancied to live in a region so desolate bought it from Cornelis Kok, but did not thereby come under the government of that captain, as it was understood that a transaction of this kind covered sovereignty as well as ownership. In 1848 Sir Harry Smith

obliterated Cornelis Kok's rule, but not his proprietorship, over the land still unsold, by proclaiming the whole country as far as the Vaal part of the Queen's dominions.

In the titles to farms issued by the Sovereignty and Free State governments, no reservation of minerals was made. The land in that part of South Africa was believed to be good for nothing but pasturage, and for that purpose only it had been occupied. Twenty pounds for a thousand acres would have been considered a fair price for it before the discovery of diamonds. It had cost the original proprietors the merest trifle, and a thousand pounds would have amply repaid them for all their improvements. But now, relying upon the omission of a reservation clause in the title-deeds, companies were formed and purchased the farms Dorstfontein, Bultfontein, and Vooruitzigt, which adjoin each other. The farmers were seriously frightened at what they saw going on before them, and were glad to sell for a few thousands each. The object of the new proprietors was to monopolise digging in the best places, and to charge heavy licenses from others.

The proprietors and the diggers speedily came into collision. The law was on the side of the proprietors, but the diggers claimed that justice and common sense were with them. Disturbances took place. Bultfontein was forcibly taken possession of, and claims were marked out up to the very door of the farmhouse. But this violent act was generally disapproved of, and, after a little persuasion, the diggers withdrew. They were desirous that the government should take over the land from the proprietors at a reasonable valuation, as is done in other countries when it is necessary to construct a railway through private grounds, or whenever the interests of the whole community demand it. They argued that the land had really been granted for grazing purposes only, and that the proprietors would suffer no injustice by the proposed arrangement. But the government saw difficulties in the way, and the proprietary companies shielded themselves behind their titles, which gave them

absolute and unqualified ownership of the ground and its contents.

At length, in May 1871, a provisional arrangement was made by the government, to have effect until the volksraad should come to a decision in the matter; and all parties expressed themselves ready to abide by it. It was to the effect that for each claim of nine hundred square feet (83·17 square metres) a monthly license of ten shillings should be paid. Of this, the government was to receive five shillings, the proprietors of the farms were to receive four shillings, and the diggers' committee was to receive one shilling. The committee of each camp was invested with ordinary municipal power.

On the 22nd of February 1871 the mission station of Pniel had been cut off from the district of Jacobsdal and created a district of itself. Its limits were now enlarged so as to embrace the dry diggings, and the landdrost Truter was removed from Pniel — where few diggers then remained —to Dutoitspan. A post office was established, and a body of police was enrolled.

In June the first diamond was discovered at the mine now known as Kimberley, on the Vooruitzigt farm. Prospecting was then being actively carried on, and this place had twice before been examined and abandoned.

It was not yet supposed that there were diamonds at any great depth beneath the surface, the prevailing opinion being that they had been transported by the agency of water from some unknown place of formation, and deposited where they were being found. The plan upon which all ground had hitherto been worked was in accordance with the view that only the surface soil was productive. No roadways were left when blocks of claims were marked out. Experience, however, was beginning to show that this system was faulty, for already many of the inner plots of ground at Dorstfontein, Bultfontein, and another mine called De Beer's, were not only difficult but dangerous to reach. It was therefore resolved to adopt another plan.

The Kimberley mine, when first laid out in claims, was a gentle swell above the general surface. It is hardly a mile or a kilometre and three-fifths from the rim of the great pan, on the northern slope of which the Dorstfontein and Bultfontein diggings are situated. Seven hundred claims or plots of ground, each containing a little more than eighty-three square metres, were marked off, and immediately taken possession of. But many of these were afterwards found to be beyond the reef, or caldron of rock which contained the diamond bearing soil, and were therefore of no value. Many even of those within the reef were soon found not to be worth working, and less than seven acres is the actual area of that portion which has yielded so amazingly as to reduce the price of diamonds throughout the world to a mere fraction of their former value. Twelve roadways, each fifteen feet (4·56 metres) in width, were left across the mine by a regulation which required each claimholder to reserve one-fourth of his plot for that purpose. Between these roads great trenches were opened, the ground taken out being conveyed beyond the reef and there sifted and carefully sorted.

Hills of sifted earth, rivalling in size the natural elevations of the country, rapidly rose around the mine now fast changing its form to that of a crater. These hills, the roads, and the trenches swarmed with human beings. In that little spot thirty thousand men, white and black, were working at once. The reports of the enormous quantities of diamonds found attracted strangers from all parts of the civilised world. Blacks from every tribe in South Africa congregated there too, allured by the prospect of obtaining guns and ammunition with the very high wages offered. The river diggings were almost deserted. Men who by mere chance secured rich claims for nothing, when they were first allotted, could now readily obtain a thousand pounds for half their ground.

A great camp of canvas tents of all sizes and shapes covered the ground on one side of the mine. Streets and

squares were shortly laid out, and soon iron buildings rose along them. Churches and schools, banks and newspaper offices, concert rooms and theatres, stores and shops, diamond buyers' offices, hotels, canteens, and gambling houses were all to be seen before the close of the year. Along the streets passed an incessant stream of waggons, carts, carriages, and pedestrians. Similar, but on a smaller scale, were the camps at Dutoitspan, Bultfontein, and De Beer's. The whole four mines were within a circle having a radius of only three kilometres, or less than two miles.

Life at the dry-digging camps, in their early days, was full of excitement, but far from pleasant. Water was scarce and bad. The best was brought in casks from a farm eight or nine kilometres away. When, at length, it was obtained by sinking wells, much of it was found to contain lime in solution, and to increase rather than quench thirst. It was only after a great many wells had been sunk, and a selection could be made, that this discomfort was got rid of. For a long time the camps were in a filthy state, and during calms the air was offensive. The dust storms were terrific. Violent gusts of hot wind caught up the sifted ground and loose materials of every kind, and whirled them about until the atmosphere was darkened and breathing was difficult. A discomfort scarcely less than any of these was the amazing abundance of insect life. The bad water, the filth, the dust storms, and the vermin brought on sickness, which, during midsummer, prevailed to an alarming extent; but the death rate was not very high.

On the 2nd of June an ordinance for regulating the government of the diamond-fields was passed by the volksraad. In effect it did little more than confirm the provisional arrangement made by the executive authority on the 15th of May, and which met with the approval of the diggers and the proprietors of the farms. The ninth clause provided for the establishment of a committee of management in each camp, to consist of six members elected by the diggers, with the government inspector as chairman. The tenth clause

gave to the committees of management power to frame such regulations as might be found necessary for the local circumstances and social management of the diggings, subject only to the approval of the executive council.

Under this system of government, good order was maintained. Class legislation to a limited extent prevailed. Blacks were not allowed to roam about the camps after nine o'clock at night, canteen-keepers were prohibited from selling intoxicating liquor to them unless with the written permission of their employers, and they were not permitted to buy or sell diamonds. But these regulations were carried out in such a manner as not to oppress any one unnecessarily. Blacks were never disturbed when walking quietly along the streets, even after nine o'clock, and those who wore clothing and presented a respectable appearance were not prevented from digging for themselves.

The Free State, however, was not permitted to establish the machinery of government on the diamond-fields without opposition. On the 15th of September 1870, Lieutenant-General Hay, who was then her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa, wrote to President Brand that he had noticed in a newspaper the proclamation concerning the Campbell district, adding that he was in communication with Nicholas Waterboer, who claimed territory on both sides of the Vaal, and that he was desirous of obtaining information concerning the Free State title. He concluded by intimating that the planting of beacons to mark the Campbell district would be premature.

Four days later General Hay wrote further that he had seen a notice of the appointment of Mr. O. J. Truter as commissioner at Pniel, in a portion of the country claimed by Waterboer, and that he did not acknowledge the sovereignty of the Free State over any subjects of her Majesty living within the limits of the territory in dispute. "The concourse of people at the diamond-fields, however, had received his close consideration," he said, "and with a view to prevent the commission of crime or outrage by any of her Majesty's

subjects therein, he had taken measures for the issuing of magistrates' commissions giving jurisdiction over such subjects, under the provisions of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, 26 and 27 Victoria, cap. 35,"—the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Bill in an amended form.

This was the commencement of a series of letters, some of very great length, which cannot be read now without a feeling of intense weariness of the subject. And all the time there were documents which, if brought to light, would have set the question at rest at once and for ever. But no one knew that they were in existence. The records of political occurrences in the government offices in Capetown had never been kept in such a manner that they could be easily referred to; most of them, indeed, at that time were tied up in packets and put away wherever room could be found for them. There was no archive office, and no one specially charged with the duty of registering and indexing papers of importance.* Each department kept its own records in its own way, and all were so cramped for space that documents a few years old were of necessity put on top shelves or in cellars or garrets. In a colony events succeed each other rapidly. Governors are changed every few years, and public officers are constantly being moved from one place or occupation to another. Under such circumstances, transactions, considered even at the time of their occurrence of very small importance, come to be entirely forgotten after fifteen or twenty years, except by the immediate actors.

And the district in which Kimberley is situated, with its railway station, and telegraph office, and streets lit by elec-

* In March 1879 the author of this history was appointed keeper of the archives of the Cape Colony, and was the first to hold the office. At that time there was no apartment in any of the public buildings that could be spared, excepting a small room in the surveyor-general's office. In that confined space a few hundred volumes and as many parcels of the oldest Dutch records had been packed by a commission which had examined and reported upon the state of the archives a short time previously. In 1884, upon the completion of the new parliament house, a section of the basement of that building was set apart for the safe keeping of the records.

tricity, was as little known before the discovery of diamonds as the heart of the Kalahari is to-day. Nobody cared to know anything of it, for it was not worth the trouble of reading or writing about. Mission reports occasionally contained statements concerning Nicholas Waterboer, and his name appeared in public documents yearly as the recipient of a pension at the expense of the Cape Colony, given in consideration of the good conduct of his father; but further than that he and his clan were hardly ever heard of.

Lieutenant-General Hay and President Brand entered upon this controversy like two lawyers conducting a case on opposite sides, each unaware of the existence of witnesses capable of giving direct and clear testimony, and each making the very utmost of circumstantial evidence of all kinds.

President Brand's arguments might be reduced to this: The Campbell district and the district in which the diamond-fields east of the Vaal were situated were distinct from each other. The latter was part of the Free State, on account of having been in the undisturbed possession and occupation of its burghers for twenty years by virtue of British land certificates issued before the abandonment of the Sovereignty by her Majesty's government in 1854. In this district persons coming to push their fortunes by diamond-digging were certainly subject to the jurisdiction of the courts of the Free State. He therefore protested against the appointment by the high commissioner of special magistrates to exercise authority therein, as a violation of the convention of 1854. The boundary of Waterboer's district east of the Vaal was the Vetberg line, and no other could be recognised. Interference between the Free State and a clan such as that of Waterboer was a violation of the convention, and tended to paralyse the government, which had no wish or intention to do wrong to a single individual, but was desirous of maintaining its own rights.

Lieutenant-General Hay, on the other hand, could see no distinction between the Campbell district and the land

east of the Vaal. The Vetberg line, upon which so much stress was laid by the president, was not a boundary originally made between Waterboer and the Free State, but between Waterboer and Cornelis Kok, therefore the Free State by claiming that line admitted the ground above it to have been Cornelis Kok's. But the pretensions of the republic to Cornelis Kok's ground were derived solely from a sale by the agent of Cornelis Kok's alleged heir, and if that did not cover the territory on both sides of the river, the republic appeared to have not even the shadow of a right to the eastern bank. Waterboer asserted that Cornelis Kok had been his subordinate officer, and denied that captain's right to sell land. He also denied that he had been a party to the making of the Vetberg line, and ignored it altogether. He produced a treaty between his father and Adam Kok, in which his father's eastern boundary was defined as a line from Ramah by the way of David's Graf to Platberg. It was thus clear that his father had once been in possession of the whole territory west of that line, and there was nothing to show that either his father or himself had ever consented to part with any portion of it. The titles to land in the district east of the Vaal, the high commissioner believed must have been issued by Major Warden in error. Waterboer asserted that Major Warden had admitted as much. And lastly, if Sir Harry Smith had included the territory in question in the Sovereignty, it had reverted to its original owner upon the withdrawal of her Majesty's government.

In all the controversy, there is not one word on either side concerning the broad distinction between proprietorship and dominion which Sir Harry Smith had made, and upon which the right of the Free State really rested. The high commissioner confused the three farms given out by Major Warden on Waterboer's side of the original Vetberg line with ten times that number given out in the district farther north, and a vast deal of time and paper was taken to try to put him right; but it was not shown that the site of

Bloemfontein itself was held by the Free State on exactly the same tenure as those farms, for it had once been ground recognised as the property of Adam Kok, and sovereignty over the district in which it was situated had been acquired in just the same way as in the other case. The want of a clue, such as could be supplied by documents forgotten since Sir George Clerk left South Africa, is apparent everywhere throughout the controversy.

As a statement of their case, made and repeated in every possible form in writing, had no impression upon the high commissioner, the volksraad instructed President Brand and Mr. C. W. Hutton to proceed to Capetown and endeavour to explain matters by word of mouth. The delegates reached Capetown on the 29th of December 1870; but General Hay declined to grant them an official interview, on the ground that Sir Henry Barkly, who was hourly expected, would have to settle the matter finally, and it was therefore better to wait for him. On the 3rd of January 1871 Messrs. Brand and Hutton had a meeting with the new high commissioner, but naturally could make no impression upon him, as he had not yet been able to study the subject except from such papers as had been printed.

The correspondence between Lieutenant-General Hay and President Brand was conducted in temperate language; but some of the despatches sent by the former to England occasioned great irritation in South Africa when they were published in bluebooks. There are certainly expressions in them which were not justified by facts, as, for instance, the following, which is taken from a despatch addressed to Lord Kimberley, secretary of state for the colonies, on the 19th of November 1870:

"The governments of the two neighbouring republican states—the Orange Free State and the South African Republic—have, since the discovery (of diamonds) referred to, assumed an attitude towards the Griqua people and other aboriginal inhabitants which plainly indicates an intention of seizing upon and appropriating between them, without sufficient or justifiable cause, nearly the whole of the Griqua and adjacent other native territory, and of ejecting therefrom the native population by whom it is now, and for a long series of years has been, occupied."

CHAPTER LXV.

EVENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC FROM 1870 TO 1872.

THE territory along the northern bank of the Vaal, in which diamonds were found, was claimed by the South African Republic, the Barolong chief Moroko, some clans of the Batlapin, a horde of Koranas, and Mr. David Arnot for the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer. Of these claimants, the South African Republic, the Batlapin, and the Koranas were then in actual occupation. A few farmers were scattered over it; there was a large kraal of Batlapin at Likatlong, where the waters of the Hart join those of the Vaal; and between Likatlong and Hebron were several little kraals of Koranas.

The Barolong claim was based on the fact that the territory in bygone years was partly occupied by the clan that since 1833 had been living under Moroko at Thaba Ntshu. Waterboer's pretensions rested on the alleged treaty with Mahura already mentioned, on the fact that in the time of his father Griqua influence extended to this territory, that there were formerly Griqua outposts of the captains Cornelis Kok and Barend Barends* in the neighbourhood, that he considered those captains subjects of his father, and that Likatlong was a station of the London society in subordination to the missionary at Griquatown.

*Barend Barends never was a subject of Andries Waterboer, or in any way under the influence of that captain. After the defeat of his band by the Matabele in July 1831, as related in chapter xv, he wandered about for a time, and when in December 1833 the remnant of his clan, under Peter Davids, migrated from Boetsap to Lishuane, on the Caledon, he moved to Great Namaqualand. There he remained during 1834 and 1835, and then returned to his former home, Boetsap, where he died.

The claim of the South African Republic was put forward at a later date as founded upon a treaty which it was asserted had been concluded with the Barolong clan of Montsiwa in December 1851, but when the controversy first arose it was made to rest upon recent dealings with the Batlapin. After the war of 1858, in which Gasibone was killed, the Batlapin chief Mahura, to obtain peace, through his representatives entered into an agreement to pay all costs and damages; but the civil strife in the republic which followed closely upon this event gave him an opportunity to escape from his engagement. When order was again restored, and a demand was made upon him, he referred the government of President Pretorius to his agent, Mr. David Arnot, of Colesberg. Mr. Arnot declined to comply with the demand, and in a letter to President Pretorius, dated on the 8th of August 1864, claimed for the Batlapin the whole country along the northern bank of the Vaal from a point opposite Platberg up to Makwasi Spruit, thence along the Makwasi mountains and round by the source of the Hart river to the source of the Molopo. This territory did not include the diamond-fields, which were farther westward. In all these contentions, it must be remembered, it was not the coloured clans that first fabricated extravagant claims, but European agents acting nominally on their behalf.

For several years after 1864 subjects of greater importance than the debt of Mahura occupied the attention of the authorities at Pretoria, but towards the close of 1868 an arrangement was made for a conference between a commission from the republic and the Batlapin and Korana chiefs, with the object of discussing and arranging matters in which they were all interested. It was agreed that the place for the conference should be the farm of Mr. Daniel Verwey, on the bank of the Vaal some distance below Bloemhof, and the date the 10th of February 1869.

The commission of the South African Republic consisted of President Pretorius, Mr. W. Best, landdrost of Bloemhof,

and Messrs. J. W. Viljoen, H. C. W. Vermaas, D. Verwey, and H. C. Weber. The chiefs did not arrive at the time agreed upon, but some of them sent messages that they were coming, and on the 19th of February, Botlasitsi, Mahura, Jantje, and Motlabane, with four Korana captains and seventy-two counsellors were assembled. The conference continued until the 26th. Both the Batlapin and the Koranas claimed the country along the northern bank of the Vaal above and below the junction of the Hart, and the arguments of each seemed of equal weight. Their government was in fact tribal, not territorial. The Koranas, however, were few in number, and were not disposed to object to the supremacy of the white men. Mahura admitted his indebtedness on account of the war of 1858, and the president offered to accept fifteen hundred head of cattle in full payment, if he and the other captains would consent to the Hart river as the boundary. Jantje demurred to this, and promised to assist Mahura to meet his old engagement. Thereupon, on the 26th of February an agreement was drawn up and signed by the Batlapin captains, in which they undertook to deliver three thousand head of good cattle at Potchefstroom within two months, and promised to attend another conference after the delivery of the cattle, in order to fix a permanent boundary line between their territory and the republic.

A fortnight before the expiration of the two months, Mr. Arnot, as agent for Mahura, wrote to the president, declining to pay the cattle, and proposing to refer all differences and disputes to the arbitration of her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa. But a few days later Mr. Arnot ceased to be Mahura's advocate. The Batlapin were laying claim to the same ground that he asserted was Nicholas Waterboer's, and would not be satisfied with the territory to the eastward to which he desired to limit them, so that he abandoned their cause. He was succeeded by one Theodor Doms as chief adviser, agent, and representative of Mahura.

On the 26th of July Doms wrote to Landdrost Best, of Bloemhof, announcing that the Batlapin had failed to collect the three thousand head of cattle, and on their behalf he offered as a settlement to agree to a boundary from Saltpan's Drift on the Vaal in a direct line to Mamusa on the Hart river, and thence up to the Zwartkopjes beyond the Schoonspruit saltpan; further to pay £10,000 in money in the course of eight or ten months, and as security to pass a mortgage bond on all the ground east of the Hart river. Mr. Best referred this proposal to the president and executive council, who declined it, but offered to accept fifteen hundred head of cattle if delivered before the 6th of September, and the line of the Hart river up to midway between Taung and Mamusa. Doms replied that he desired to consult the chiefs, and requested to be supplied with copies of all documents relating to transactions with the Batlapin subsequent to 1857. A copy of the agreement of the 26th of February and some extracts from the minutes of the conference were sent to him; but as the government of the republic declined to supply all that he asked for and thus practically reopen the matter, he began to complain that injustice was being done, and the negotiations came to an end.

Then, as the chiefs had failed to keep their agreement, on the 12th of November 1869 President Pretorius, with the concurrence of the executive council, issued a proclamation extending the district of Bloemhof to the Hart river from its confluence with the Vaal upwards to the junction of its north-western affluent above the place called the Poort, and thence northward to the Zwartrand.

Nothing further occurred in connection with these people until the 25th of August 1870, when the commission of the South African Republic — President Pretorius and Messrs. B. C. E. Proes and J. R. Lys—had a conference at Nooitgedacht with the Barolong chief Moroko and the Batlapin chiefs Jantje and Mankoroane. Mahura was then dead, and Mankoroane, though not of high birth, had succeeded as

head of his clan. Doms was with them as adviser and agent. At this conference, Moroko laid claim to the land east of the Hart as his by inheritance, and the others agreed with him. The Batlapin captains claimed the land west of the Hart down to Griquatown. All repudiated Nicholas Waterboer's pretensions.

The Barolong clan under Montsiwa was left in 1854 in the country of the Bangwaketse north of the Molopo, though the location south of that river assigned to it by officers of the republic in December 1851 was still regarded as its property. Montsiwa remained with the Bangwaketse, and his reserve, being almost unoccupied, attracted the attention of a few farmers. These settled at some of the best springs, where for several years they were undisturbed. At length Montsiwa addressed President Pretorius upon the subject, and as no steps were taken to remove the farmers, on the 15th of August 1868 a letter was written in his name by the reverend Joseph Ludorf to the president and the members of the volksraad, which was the commencement of a long and acrimonious controversy.

In this letter the right of the Barolong to the country occupied by their ancestors in the time of the chief Tao was made to rest upon an alliance alleged to have been entered into by Commandant-General Hendrik Potgieter in 1837 with Tawane and Moroko, heads of refugee clans at Thaba Ntshu. It was asserted, as if it was a well-known fact, that when the emigrant farmers "decided to take the country from Moselekatse, they entered into a treaty with the Barolong chiefs Moroko and Tawane, with the express condition that if the Barolong would assist against the Matabele, their independent and perpetual right to the land of their forefathers would be guaranteed: namely Tawane's portion situated between the rivers Molopo and Hart, west to the Kalahari desert; and Moroko's ground, as indicated by thousands of kraals of his former residences* east of the

* From the walls of rough stones constructed by these people around their huts, usually about thirty-five or forty centimetres high, to strengthen

Hart river." It was further asserted that "depending on this treaty, the Barolong under Moroko and Tawane took up arms, and faithfully executed their part of the contract." Subsequent events were then made to fit in with this view of past transactions, and with a quotation from the bible the encroachment of the farmers was protested against, and the volksraad was requested to remove the intruders.

Such a perversion of historical occurrences would never have entered the mind of a Morolong, if it had not been first put into shape by a European. It is true, any one of the little party of Barolong herdsmen that accompanied Maritz and Potgieter, and afterwards Potgieter and Uys, against Moselekatse, when relating the events of those expeditions to an assemblage of blacks, would probably represent himself and his companions as the principal actors, and only casually mention the farmers. But he would never devise the conditions of a treaty which had no existence. However, when once suggested to him, he would readily grasp the importance of a statement such as the above, and would have no hesitation in affirming its truth, especially if his chief approved of it. Thus it happened that a cunningly-devised fiction came to be represented by the Barolong of Montsiwa and some of the other clans as a correct statement of their case, and is to the present day accepted by many persons as a faithful version of events.

On the 28th of August 1868, a few days after the letter to the authorities of the South African Republic was written, one was addressed in the name of Montsiwa to Sir Philip Wodehouse, asking for protection. This was the beginning of the intercourse between the Tsili branch of the Barolong and the representative of the imperial government in this country. Montsiwa was made to say:

"May it please Your Excellency to permit the undersigned chief of the Barolong to take refuge under your protecting wings from the injustice of the Transvaal Republic, whose government has lately, by proclamation, included our country within the possessions of the said republic.

them when the soil is unfavourable for supporting posts, the sites of their kraals can be determined for a long period after abandonment.

"Upwards of thirty years ago, when Commandant H. Potgieter first left the colony with his party, they found our tribe at Thaba Ntshu with Moroko. We then warned the emigrant Boers not to go near Moselekatse, for he would surely attack them. But they would not listen, and went on for 'Canaan.' After their party was almost destroyed on the banks of the Vaal river, the Barolong fetched the remainder back to Thaba Ntshu, where they during two years received every possible kindness and hospitality. By and by others came from the colony, and by force of persuasion we at last yielded to enter into an alliance with Commandant Potgieter to assist him in avenging himself on Moselekatse, on condition that if we succeeded to dislodge the Matabele we should have our fathers' country back and live under our own rule. Which was agreed to.

"Leading the Boers on to the lion's den, we warred at our own expense, had our own horses, guns, ammunition, and victuals, and constantly refused to take any of the captured stock. We had one desire only, which was to have our old country where are the graves of our fathers.

"Moselekatse was defeated. Soon after the Boers moved into the newly cleared territory, and the Barolong under the chief Tawane returned to their old grounds, whilst Moroko remained at Thaba Ntshu.

"When Commandant A. Pretorius had lost the day at Port Natal and immigrated to the Transvaal country, H. Potgieter duly informed the new comers of the alliance that existed between the republican Boers and the Barolong, and the right of the latter to their own country. Potgieter went to Lydenburg, Pretorius and his party stayed in the south-western parts.

"About 1850 one Boer after another took possession of the fountains and lands of the Barolong: when in 1851 the latter complained to Commandant A. Pretorius, he appointed a commission of some commandants and field-cornets, and a boundary line was agreed on between the republic and the Barolong. This line was to be the Hart river from where it enters the Vaal river up to the eye of Hart River, which is Eland's Fountain, from there with the waggon-road to the head fountain of the river Molopo, thence to a very large fountain called Pogosurmane, from there to the waggon-drift of the road from Lotlakana across the Molopo to Klein Mariko.

"In 1853 by the most crying injustice the Boers attacked us, and after fighting a whole day they found out that *there existed no grounds whatever for such bloodshed*, calling themselves *the blind commando* they left. All the farmers of Mariko then fled, fearing we would retaliate. Several seasons passed, till at last the Boers made some overtures for a settlement. On coming to terms with Commandant Jan Viljoen and President M. Pretorius, the old boundary lines were agreed to on both sides. But knowing how little the promises of the Boers could be trusted, we would not go back to our old residence Lotlakana, but continued to sojourn with the Bangwaketse tribe, to keep somewhat out of the Boers' reach.

"And now without the least provocation on our side (though the Boers have from time to time murdered some of my people and enslaved several

small villages of our Balala), the Transvaal Republic deprives us, by the said proclamation, of our lands and liberty, against which we would protest in the strongest terms, and entreat Your Excellency, as Her Britannic Majesty's high commissioner, to protect us."

In this letter the Hart river is affirmed to have been a boundary agreed upon in 1851 as separating an independent tribe of Barolong from the South African Republic. The statement was as far from being correct as was the picture of Tawane's fugitive horde in 1837 "warring at their own expense, with their own horses, guns, and ammunition;" but from the reverend Mr. Ludorf's standpoint it served to give an appearance of completeness and justice to Montsiwa's claim. Perhaps another adviser might have thought that an equally good claim to independence could be made out from the fact of its having been practically enjoyed since 1853; but in that case the reserve south of the Molopo would have been lost.

The government of the republic found it difficult to deal with Montsiwa. Here was a chief to whom every possible consideration had been shown in former times, who had a location as large as he desired assigned to him, who had broken his engagements and gone into rebellion, who had his location restored to him but instead of occupying it had removed to another part of the country. Why should farmers be prevented from settling on ground thus abandoned, and making use of it? True, there were some little kraals of Barolong in the location, but there was ample space for them and the farmers too. And the whole country thereabouts belonged to the white man by right of conquest from Moselekatse, so that the farmers were not ejecting lawful owners. Viewing matters in this light, nothing was done to displace those whom the reverend Mr. Ludorf termed intruders.

In June 1870 Montsiwa's brother Molema, who was living on the Molopo, was called upon to pay taxes to the government. This he refused to do, and Montsiwa supported him in his refusal, on the ground of the independence of the Barolong by virtue of the alleged treaty with Commandant-

General Potgieter. In July a protest was published in the name of Montsiwa, against any encroachment beyond the line of the Hart river. In September an interview between President Pretorius and Montsiwa took place by chance on the road as the president was returning home from the meeting at Nooitgedacht. He had there learned to his great surprise that Montsiwa claimed the Hart river as a boundary by a treaty made in December 1851. He had never before heard of such a treaty—none being in point of fact in existence;—but he would have been overjoyed to meet the Barolong on this condition. He believed it would give a clear title to the diamond-fields north of the Vaal, and for that he was willing to renounce the claim of the republic to the barren territory farther westward. He therefore eagerly asked if Montsiwa would adhere to the treaty of 1851. Montsiwa replied that as far as he was concerned he would, but that the ground east of the Hart belonged to Moroko. It was then arranged to have a conference at the Molopo river between a commission from the South African Republic and as many chiefs as could be got together, to endeavour to come to some final settlement of the matter in dispute.

The conference was held at the place appointed on the 15th of November. There were present, on behalf of the republic, President Pretorius, Commandant-General S. J. Paul Kruger, and Messrs. T. F. Steyn, H. Greef, H. Beukes, J. Botha, M. Joubert, J. Snyman, and H. Coetsee. The chiefs who attended were Phoë, Montsiwa, Moroko, Molema, Matlabe, Bakhobi, and Izaak Motlabane, of the Barolong tribe, Mohilo, of the Bahurutsi at Marikwa, Gasiyitsiwe, of the Bangwaketse at Kanye, Andries Rei representing the Korana chief Massou, and others of less note. The reverend Mr. Ludorf was present also, and took a prominent part in the proceedings.

Montsiwa claimed the country of Tao for the whole of the Barolong clans, by virtue of a treaty with Commandant-General Potgieter. He asserted that it was bounded by a line from the source of the Molopo to the source of the Hart,

thence to the source of Schoonspruit, and thence along Schoonspruit to the Vaal. He alleged that a document acknowledging the right of the Barolong to the land west of that line had been drawn up by Potgieter, but was accidentally destroyed by fire at Thaba Ntshu.

Commandant-General Kruger, as the member of the commission best acquainted with early transactions of the emigrant farmers, replied that he doubted the correctness of such an arrangement having been made. There was no document to that effect, and events that were known to have happened could not be reconciled with it. He would not take it upon himself, however, absolutely to deny it, as he had not sufficient information to do so.

There was plenty of documentary evidence in Capetown to overthrow such a statement completely, but neither the commandant-general nor any member of the commission knew of its existence. In this, as on other similar occasions, the officers of the republic were dependent on their personal knowledge alone.

During the remainder of the conference—which was closed on the 16th—the Barolong chiefs maintained an attitude of independence. They wanted the whole country that had belonged to Tao before the Korana invasion acknowledged to be theirs, and to be free of all control in it. Moroko, who would have resented—and with justice—any intrusion upon the district of Thaba Ntshu, which his clan had occupied for thirty-seven years, claimed the land between Schoonspruit and the Hart river as having been the home of his ancestors, and pointed to the remains of stone circles scattered over it as proofs of Barolong right. That the Barolong had been driven away by war, that the land had been absolutely lost to them, and that it had been taken by the white people from Moselekatse, were arguments which did not approve themselves to his mind. The chiefs denied, indeed, that Moselekatse had ever built a kraal in the country they claimed. And it was correct that he had not; although it was no less correct that military bands from his

town of Mosega traversed it at will, and that if the impoverished remnants of the Barolong clans had not taken care to get out of the way they would have been served as rats are served by terriers.

Montsiwa further rested the case of his own particular clan upon the alleged treaty of December 1851, and claimed the country west of the Hart as acknowledged by it to be his. The commission of the South African Republic, having never seen this treaty, expressed doubt about it, and some of the members denied its existence.

Upon this, the reverend Mr. Ludorf stated that to oblige the commission he had furnished the government secretary of the republic with a copy of the minutes taken by the Barolong themselves on the occasion when that treaty was made. In his report of this conference, sent to the high commissioner, he states that he added: "It is a thousand pities that if ever you meant to keep faith with these people your government has not drawn up proper documents of such important transactions as treaties of peace, boundary lines, etc., and kept official records thereof; this would have saved you the mortification of having to apply to the natives for proper information." It will presently be seen what value ought to be attached to documents thus furnished.

The draft of some clauses which it was proposed to add to the treaty between Portugal and the South African Republic, in which the boundary line of the last-named state was made to include the country far to the westward, was read; but of course the Barolong ignored it.

This conference proved that a friendly arrangement of territorial claims was impossible. The republic could not withdraw from ground occupied by its people for nearly a quarter of a century. And the Barolong clans, now strong in numbers and counselled by Europeans who felt intense hatred for the farmers, would not consent to occupy a position of vassalage such as they had gladly submitted to in their time of distress. They cannot be blamed for the attitude which they assumed. It was natural that they

should wish to get all the ground they possibly could, and to be free of control and taxes. But it would be difficult to write too harshly of some of their European advisers: men who perverted truth, and taught the chiefs and people to base their pretensions on what was false; whose letters are loathsome compounds of deceit and villainy, abuse of people more honest than themselves, quotations from holy scripture, and professions of devotion to the cause of philanthropy and "justice to the poor oppressed natives of South Africa."

As no settlement could be made in a friendly manner, it was agreed on both sides to refer to a court of arbitration the questions of disputed territory and the claim of Montsiwa to independence. Accordingly, on the 18th of November a letter was addressed to Lieutenant-General Hay, her Majesty's high commissioner, requesting him to appoint two members of a court of arbitration. The letter bore the signatures of the Barolong captains Montsiwa, Bakhobi, Moroko, Matlabe, and Izaak Motlabane, of Gasiyitsiwe, chief of the Bangwaketse, and of Massou,* chief of the Koranas. The high commissioner was informed that Montsiwa would proceed to Capetown to confer with him and furnish particulars and documents concerning their claims.

Lieutenant-General Hay had already opened a correspondence with President Pretorius on the subject of the conflicting claims to the territory along the northern bank of the Vaal, and had shown himself not altogether impartial. The question was undecided whether the various clans were trying to make aggressions upon the South African Republic or the South African Republic was trying to make aggressions upon them, when, on the 19th of September 1870, the high commissioner wrote to the president "desiring to urge upon him in very strong terms the necessity for abstaining from encroachment, without lawful and sufficient

Massou was chief of the Taaibosch or principal clan of the Koranas. He was a very old man at this time, but lived till the 11th of June 1878. His successor in the chieftainship was his son, the well-known David Taaibosch.

cause, upon the possessions of native tribes in friendly alliance with her Majesty's government." When or how the tribes came to be in alliance with the British government his Excellency did not explain.

On the 5th of December the volksraad resolved that the correspondence with the high commissioner should be continued, and that if necessary the republic should submit its claims to arbitration and defend them on the grounds of the convention of January 1852, rights of conquest, negotiations with chiefs, and occupation during years. The members particularly desired that an impartial court should decide whether the high commissioner had a right to interfere in questions north of the Vaal not injuriously affecting British subjects. A standing committee of three members of the volksraad was appointed to assist the president, the state attorney, and the executive council in conducting matters connected with the territorial disputes.

A few days before this resolution was adopted Lieutenant-General Hay took a very decided step in reference to the ownership of the diamond-fields. From the eastern districts of the Cape Colony it was computed that fully one-fifth of the young and able men had by that time gone to seek their fortunes as diggers. In a region which so shortly before was little better than a desert, machinery for the enforcement of law and order was, of course, wanting; and those who remained at home but invested money in fitting out parties of miners became apprehensive that property might be unsafe. Under the peculiar circumstances which had so suddenly and unexpectedly arisen, they maintained that it was a necessity for the Cape Colony, as the strongest power in South Africa, to take possession of the diamond-fields. Several memorials to that effect were sent to Lieutenant-General Hay. The first of these in date as well as importance was signed by the honourable R. Godlonton and the honourable D. H. Kennelly, members of the legislative council of the Cape Colony, and by about five hundred others.

Following closely on these memorials came a petition from Nicholas Waterboer to her Majesty the queen, dated the 25th of August 1870, requesting that he and his people might be received as British subjects and the territory which he claimed be incorporated with the British dominions. He had been induced to make this proposal by a prospect of an annuity for life that would put him in a position infinitely better than that of captain of a little horde of semi-barbarians.

Lieutenant-General Hay had no power to annex a metre of ground, but he practically substituted the British authorities in South Africa for Mr. Arnot and his client Nicholas Waterboer in the dispute concerning the ownership of the diamond-fields. On the 30th of November 1870 he issued to an old colonial civil servant—Mr. John Campbell —a commission under the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act, empowering that officer to act as special magistrate in accordance with its provisions in all the territory claimed by Mr. Arnot for Waterboer. On the 13th of December Mr. Campbell arrived at Klipdrift—now Barkly West,—when President Parker immediately resigned, and the new diamond-field republic came to an end. Along the northern bank of the Vaal a large number of diggers—probably a majority of them—welcomed the special magistrate, and without hesitation submitted to his authority.

But the power of a special magistrate under the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act is very limited. Mr. Campbell could cause a British subject to be arrested and sent to the Cape Colony for trial, but he could not try him where the crime was committed. As an attempt to obviate this difficulty, on the 1st of February 1871 a commission was obtained from the captain Nicholas Waterboer. This, however, did not much improve Mr. Campbell's position. At the best, Nicholas Waterboer was only a claimant to the territory in which Klipdrift was situated, and of all those who asserted that they were the legitimate owners, he was the one who in general opinion had the least right. His entire clan

was too small to occupy more than one little village, and his residence was a hundred and forty-five kilometres distant in a direct line. No one could ascertain that he had ever exercised jurisdiction within a radius of fifty miles or eighty kilometres of Klipdrift, or that any of his people were living outside of his district of Griquatown. The Batlapin and Koranas who had their kraals along the river repudiated the pretensions made in his name. The missionaries of the London Society, who were in a position to know all the details of the history of his clan, denied that he had any right to the ground in which the diamond-fields were situated. They had kept silence when his claim to a large portion of the districts of Boshof and Jacobsdal in the Orange Free State was announced, but as soon as it was known that Mr. Arnot was asserting his right to land above the junction of the Hart and the Vaal also, they gave their testimony against him. The reverend Robert Moffat, the old and well-known missionary of Kuruman, wrote to the effect that he could make out as good a title for himself as for Waterboer. His son, the reverend John Smith Moffat, sent a letter to Jantje, the chief at Likatlong, which was immediately forwarded to the high commissioner, to the effect that the territory could be proved beyond question to belong to the Batlapin.

There were indeed people who favoured the pretensions of the Griqua captain, but they brought forward no evidence beyond mere assertions in support of their views. That section of the newspaper press, both in South Africa and in England, that under every variety of circumstance was antagonistic to the emigrant farmers, took Waterboer's side without investigation of the matter, simply because both the republics were opposed to him. Some of the articles in these papers were exceedingly ludicrous when read on the banks of the Vaal, as for instance denunciations of the rapacity of the Boers of the Free State and the South African Republic, who were represented as trying to defraud "the hereditary paramount chief of all the Griquas" of

his diamond-fields. But such advocacy, though tending to create false impressions at a distance, had no other effect than producing merriment in the mining camps. The general opinion there of white men and black was so decidedly opposed to the supposition of Waterboer's having any rights in the neighbourhood, that Mr. Campbell thought it prudent to keep his commission as much as possible in the background.

Shortly after his assumption of duty as high commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly proceeded on a visit to the Lesuto and the diamond-fields. He arrived at Klipdrift on the 26th of February 1871, and was received with dutiful respect as her Majesty's representative. President Pretorius was there to meet him, and so were Waterboer and the Barolong and Batlapin chiefs. Mr. Arnot was present as adviser of Waterboer, and the reverend Joseph Ludorf as adviser of Phoë, Montsiwa, and Moroko. Mr. Theodor Doms came forward as the mouthpiece of the Batlapin captains, but they disowned him, as they stated he had been selling land in their names without authority to do so, and they selected the reverend Mr. Ludorf as their adviser and agent.

All of the captains, through their agents, laid statements before his Excellency, and all professed to be willing to submit their claims to a court of arbitration. Sir Henry Barkly thereupon caused deeds of submission to be drawn up, and on the 1st of March one of these was signed by President Pretorius and Captain Nicholas Waterboer, and another by President Pretorius, the Barolong chiefs Montsiwa, Moroko, Phoë, and four others of less note, and the Batlapin chiefs Botlasitsi, Jantje, Motlabane, and Mankoroane.

At the same time an agreement was concluded between Sir Henry Barkly and President Pretorius, providing for the government of the diamond-fields on the northern bank of the Vaal until the decision of the court of arbitration should be made known. Mr. Campbell, special magistrate at Klipdrift, was to have authority over all British subjects, and was to receive the fees for digging-licenses paid by

them. In the same way Mr. J. A. de Villiers, who some months previously had been stationed as landdrost at Hebron, was to have authority over all citizens of the South African Republic, and was to receive their license-money. The revenue collected on both sides was to be held in trust until the decision of the arbitrators should be given, when it was to be transferred to whichever claimant should be pronounced the rightful owner of the land.

It was agreed that the judges of the arbitration court should be Mr. Anthony Alexander O'Reilly, landdrost of Wakkerstroom, on behalf of the South African Republic, and Mr. John Campbell on behalf of all the other parties to the dispute. In case of the judges disagreeing, Lieutenant-Governor Keate, of Natal, was empowered to give a final decision. Sir Henry Barkly instructed Mr. Maximilian Jackson, the officer in command of a detachment of colonial police that accompanied him to the diamond-fields, to act as special magistrate while Mr. Campbell was otherwise employed.

On the 4th of April 1871 the court of arbitration was opened at the village of Bloemhof. To conduct the case, President Pretorius and the state attorney Frederick Klein appeared for the South African Republic, Mr. David Arnot and Attorney D. C. Grant for Waterboer, Attorney Grant and Mr. Edwards for the Batlapin chief Mankoroane, the reverend Joseph Ludorf for the Barolong chiefs Phoë, Montsiwa, and Moroko, and the Batlapin chief Botlasitsi, and Mr. Carl Mathey for the Bangwaketse chief Gasiyitsiwe and the Batlapin chief Motlabane.

From the 5th of April to the 19th of June the arbitration court listened to evidence, documentary and oral, that fills three hundred and ninety-two pages of a bluebook.

The South African Republic went into court utterly unprepared to conduct its case properly. It is almost beyond belief that no study was made of the early history of the emigrant farmers, that Commandant-General Potgieter's correspondence was not sought for, that numerous letters which are in existence from men who took part in events between

1836 and 1854 were never once referred to, that the policy carried out by Sir Harry Smith was ignored as completely as even Mr. Arnot himself could have desired. But if this is nearly incredible, what can be said of the following?

Nothing could have been more opposed to the claims of the republic, if properly represented, than a treaty such as the reverend Mr. Ludorf asserted was made with Montsiwa in December 1851. If genuine, such a treaty would have established Montsiwa's right to independence and to all the land west of the Hart river. It would not have affected the claim to the country east of the Hart in the slightest degree, as Montsiwa put forward no pretensions there. The whole of the evidence of the farmers was opposed to such an agreement having been made. Can it be believed that Messrs. Pretorius and Klein obtained a copy of the alleged treaty from the reverend Mr. Ludorf—a man whose denunciations of the farmers were generally known,—and put it in as part of their case, to show that one of the chiefs admitted their ownership of the diamond-fields along the Vaal. They alleged that it would have greater weight as having been obtained from their opponents. And after all, it turned out to be spurious. The so-called treaty was nothing more than an extract from certain papers which professed to be minutes of the meeting of the 30th of December 1851, taken down by the reverend Mr. Ludorf himself. No white man, except Ludorf, had ever put pen to it. The names which professed to be signatures of individuals at the foot of the document were placed there without the slightest authority. So much could be gathered from the evidence. And then the writer of the document was examined, and made the following statement: *

"I acknowledge the document now exhibited to me to be the same I lent to Mr. Forssman, and it is in my handwriting, and is in the same state as when I lent it. I cannot account at this moment for the discrepancy of the word "Get" (*i.e.* geteekend or signed) being before the name of A. Stander, and then the cross against the names of Motsegane and Montsiwa, and which I think must be an error. There is also the N.B. after the signatures, which differs from the copy I got from Montsiwa,

* Evidence of reverend Joseph Ludorf. Page 179 of the Bloemhof bluebook.

but corresponds with the document printed with the correspondence between the governor and the Transvaal. I admit there must be an error somewhere, which I cannot account for. I cannot say how long ago I made this copy, but it must be years ago. I am unable to state when I made this copy. I cannot swear that the document was made within the last five or six years."

After this an expressive remark follows in the proceedings of the court of arbitration:

"The commissioners, on examining the water-mark of the paper of this document, found it to be 1868."

The agents on the opposite side put in a great number of short extracts from printed books. Messrs. Pretorius and Klein must have been unaware that such books were in existence, or at any rate they must have been unacquainted with their contents, for there is not one of the volumes of any value which could not be used with far greater effect on the side of the republic.

Nearly all the evidence given by Waterboer's witnesses, except that of his brother-in-law, might have been admitted at once, if Messrs. Pretorius and Klein had known the history of Sir Harry Smith's administration and had produced a few of that governor's proclamations and letters. The evidence of Waterboer's brother-in-law could have been invalidated by the production of documents easily obtained.

The fiction of an alliance between the early emigrant farmers and the refugee chiefs Tawane and Moroko, with the condition that the whole country over which Tao exercised influence before the Korana invasion should be given up to the Barolong to be held by them as an independent people, pressed into prominence by the reverend Mr. Ludorf, was not rebutted with that overwhelming documentary evidence that could easily have been obtained. Oral evidence, both European and black, indeed, was brought forward to refute it, even to show the absurdity of the supposition; but that evidence which no judge, however partial, could refuse to accept as conclusive, was left out entirely. In this most important matter to the South

African Republic, Messrs. Pretorius and Klein were satisfied to allow a decision to be given by the judges according as they might attach more credibility to one set of witnesses than to another.

In short, instead of getting up their case as they ought to have done, the representatives of the South African Republic went into court depending upon a general feeling among the farmers north of the Vaal that their claims were just, and upon the evidence of witnesses who knew nothing except from personal experience.

The agents for the claimants on the other side acted very differently. They knew exactly what to withhold, as well as what to bring forward. Overwhelming evidence was produced as to what Sir George Napier and Sir Peregrine Maitland had done and enacted, but great care was taken to avoid Sir Harry Smith. From the evidence given at Bloemhof, documentary and oral, it could never be gathered that the policy of the imperial government in creating large Bantu and Griqua states in South Africa had been reversed.

From the beginning it was anticipated that the decision would not rest with Messrs. Campbell and O'Reilly as judges. They would see that order was preserved, that each side should have an opportunity to bring forward all the evidence it chose to produce, and that the evidence was faithfully put on record. But it was never supposed that they would agree in pronouncing judgment. The real arbiter was the final referee, Lieutenant-Governor Keate, of Natal. He had decided in favour of the South African Republic in the question of the disputed boundary with the Orange Free State, and therefore, as the high commissioner's action made arbitration by some one a necessity, President Pretorius was willing to leave this matter also in his hands. The judges disagreed, as was foreseen, and on the 17th of October 1871 Lieutenant-Governor Keate signed at Maritzburg the document known ever since as the Keate award. It was entirely adverse to the South African Republic. It gave to Nicholas

Waterboer the northern and north-eastern lines which Mr. Arnot claimed for him, and gave the Barolong and Batlapin all the territory between the boundaries so assigned to Waterboer and a line sweeping round from the source of the Molopo past the source of the Hart to Makwasi Spruit and down Makwasi Spruit to the Vaal.

A great deal of blame has been cast upon Lieutenant-Governor Keate in connection with this award, but if the matter be carefully considered, this will be found to be undeserved. It is easy for those who know something of South African history of the early years of the nineteenth century to point out errors of judgment in the document; but Mr. Keate could not be supposed to have any acquaintance with events that occurred in the interior of the country before his arrival at Natal. There was not a volume in existence to which he could refer for accurate information upon the South African Republic, or the Barolong, or the Griquas, or even the Cape Colony. To get any knowledge concerning the occurrences of bygone years it would have been necessary for him to examine vast quantities of documents scattered throughout the country, and for that he had no time. The most that he could do would be to look through ten or a dozen bluebooks, with the chance after all of finding very little to the purpose in them. He was a trained barrister, and he had a right to expect that the parties in the case would produce all the evidence in their favour that they could. It was not his duty to hunt up old letters and records to favour either one side or the other, on the contrary he would have been greatly to blame had he done so. It was for him to give a decision upon the evidence placed before him, and not to go beyond that evidence in the least respect.

He was, and ought to have been, like a judge in some distant country who had never heard more of the contending parties than that there were such people living somewhere, and to whom the Bloemhof papers might be sent with a request for a decision upon the various claims. Such a man

would be compelled to reject some of the evidence, for much of it is conflicting. To enable him to decide as to the credibility of the witnesses, he would refer to the documentary evidence. If he had no reason to suppose that this was garbled, and he found it generally leaning to one side, he would give the preference to the witnesses on that side. And this is just what Lieutenant-Governor Keate did. He rejected the evidence of a few blacks and of all the Europeans except the agents for the Griquas and the Barolong, and he accepted the evidence of the Griquas and as much of that of the Barolong and the Batlapin as did not conflict with it, because the documents put in by Mr. Arnot and which were before him seemed to favour that view.

Very different is the duty of the historian. He too must weigh evidence carefully when it is conflicting, but his investigations are not to be limited to any set of papers. He must do what Lieutenant-Governor Keate would not have been justified in doing: he must search diligently for every source of information from both sides; he must not be satisfied with extracts which may be garbled, but must examine the entire documents or volumes from which they are taken; he must go to the very origin of every dispute, and trace it to its ending. Hence comes the apparent anomaly that a judgment like the Keate award must be shown to be subversive of rightful claims, while the man who pronounced it can be regarded as perfectly blameless.

The award was received by the people of the South African Republic with consternation. It cut off from the jurisdiction of their government not only the territory occupied by the clans of the Barolong and the Batlapin, and the vast region bordering on the desert, to which their rights were really open to dispute, but the whole district of Bloemhof, part of the district of Potchefstroom, and part of the district of Marico,* all containing farms occupied by the earliest European settlers.

* In October 1871 the volksraad resolved that landdrosts should be stationed at the villages of Zeerust and Middelburg, thus creating new

Public meetings were held, at which those speakers who advised resistance to the dismemberment of the republic were most applauded. An outburst of indignation against the government followed. A commission of three members of the volksraad had been appointed in December 1870 to assist the president, the executive council, and the state attorney in dealing with territorial disputes, but the president had signed the deeds of submission to the court of arbitration at Bloemhof without consulting his colleagues. One of the chief objects that the volksraad had in view in consenting to arbitration was to have it decided whether her Majesty's high commissioner was justified under the convention of 1852 in interfering in matters north of the Vaal, and this had not been brought forward at Bloemhof nor been referred to in any manner by the tribunal there. The populace made the most of these omissions, and declared that they had no longer any confidence in the government.

The volksraad was in session when, on the 16th of November 1871, the award reached Pretoria. Two letters from President Pretorius to Sir Henry Barkly were first brought on for consideration. One of these letters was dated on the 22nd of July. In it the president stated that he had learned from a report of the debates in the house of commons that instructions had been issued by her Majesty to accede to the request of Waterboer and the Griquas to become British subjects; that by this proceeding confidence in an impartial decision had been weakened; and British officers could no longer be looked upon as arbitrators, but as parties in the case. Further, he protested against the reception of the Griquas as a breach of the convention of

districts out of portions of older ones. The districts were proclaimed by Acting-President Erasmus on the 24th of February 1872. Middelburg, on the eastern side of the state, had previously been part of Lydenburg. Marico, as the new district was termed of which Zeerust was the seat of magistracy, was proclaimed with boundaries including two long-settled fieldcornetcies, one of which was almost entirely cut off by the Keate award.

January 1852, and requested that the claim of England to act thus in disregard of the convention might be referred for decision to another power. This letter was not objected to. But the other, which was dated on the 10th of November, and in which the president stated that on receipt of the award he would gladly comply with it, was disapproved by the volksraad.

Such a hostile feeling towards the executive was now shown by the members that the principal officers thought it prudent to resign their situations. The state secretary Proes, a well-educated and able, but erratic man, though he had little or nothing to do with the arbitration, was the first to retire. The reverend Mr. Swart was immediately elected in his stead. The state attorney Klein then sent his resignation to the president, and received an honourable discharge. Mr. Pretorius next laid down his office, when the volksraad directed Mr. Daniel Jacobus Erasmus, the oldest unofficial member of the executive council, to act as president until an election could be held.

Meantime the reverend Mr. Ludorf was doing all that was possible still further to irritate the European inhabitants of the country north of the Vaal. Sir Henry Barkly had in vain both privately and officially cautioned him to act with prudence. His enmity towards the farmers seemed to have no bounds, or unexpected success in obtaining a triumph for his clients had disordered his mind. On the 28th of October, before Mr. Keate's decision reached Pretoria, Sir Henry Barkly proclaimed in the *Government Gazette* of the Cape Colony the boundary fixed by the award between the South African Republic and the Bangwaketse, Barolong, and Batlapin tribes. Thereupon Mr. Ludorf drew up a constitution for a Betshuana state which he proposed to bring into existence, and in the name of a number of chiefs issued a pompous proclamation. On the first trustworthy information reaching them that her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa acknowledged their independence of the republic, the chiefs began to show those symptoms of jealousy

of each other which soon thereafter led to feuds and warfare after the manner of barbarians, yet Mr. Ludorf's project of a constitution was for a single government with a representative assembly. In his proclamation, a copy of which he forwarded to the government at Pretoria, he styled himself "commissioner and representative of the combined Barolong, Bangwaketse, and Batlapin." One clause of this document was worded as follows:

"And we do further proclaim and make known that all white persons who have settled or may hereafter settle within the limits of our territory shall be bound to conform to law and order, but will at the same time enjoy all civil rights, protection, freedom of religion, press, etc., etc. General affairs of state to rest in the hands of the great council of combined chiefs, district affairs in those of the local chief and his heemraden, the administration of justice to be entrusted to one or more civil commissioners. There will be two courts of appeal, namely the high court, consisting of the chief and heemraden in each district, and in the last instance the great council of combined chiefs. Legislative functions are vested in the national assembly, in which the white inhabitants in our territory will have the right of being represented. Everyone, without exception, shall be bound in case of hostilities to render his aid, and at once to conform to martial law. Command will be taken of the forces by the fieldcornets, district commandants, and commander-in-chief, each under fixed orders and rules. State revenues are obtained from the following sources: shop-keepers', traders', and hunters' licenses, transfer and registry dues, poll tax, summonses and appeal costs, fines, taxes to be levied on subjects, tolls, etc."

Probably this was designed purposely to annoy the Europeans, for Mr. Ludorf could not have seriously believed that the farmers who had been cut off from the republic by the award would submit to such a government as that which he proposed, or that their friends on the other side of the line would abandon them, in case the chiefs attempted to enforce their authority.

But whatever effect it was intended to produce, it was the cause of prompt action being taken by the volksraad. On the 24th of November that body instructed the acting president how to proceed in the matter, and on the following day Mr. Erasmus published a proclamation and a protest against the Keate award. In these documents he announced

that as the late president Pretorius had neither authority nor right to sign the acts of submission singly and without the concurrence of his colleagues, the whole proceedings in connection with the arbitration were regarded as invalid, and the award would not be acknowledged as binding. Further, he announced that he would take steps to assure the inviolability of the territory of the republic, and to protect the rights of property within it.

On the 2nd of December a communication covering copies of these documents was forwarded to the high commissioner. Sir Henry Barkly replied that he had nothing to do with the dispute between the executive and the legislature of the republic, that he adhered to the proceedings of the arbitration, and intended to abide by and maintain the award. And Earl Kimberley, then secretary of state for the colonies, approved of this reply.

But in point of fact the award never was enforced. There was only one way in which the boundary laid down by Mr. Keate could be maintained, and that was by Great Britain assuming direct control in the territory west of it and keeping a strong military or police force there. This step the imperial government was unwilling to take. The South African Republic therefore continued to embrace the field-cornetcies that were occupied by the farmers, and a landdrost remained in the village of Bloemhof and held a court there as before.

Beyond the parts occupied by farmers, disorder soon reigned supreme. On the 13th of January 1872 the reverend J. D. M. Ludorf* died at Likatlong, and the chiefs were then left to their own guidance. That his influence was pernicious is indisputable, but he managed to keep the clans from open war. After his death they quarrelled with each

* He came to South Africa as a working printer for the French evangelical mission society, but after a time joined the Wesleyan body and was ordained as a clergyman. He was a man of considerable ability, but was intensely vain and ambitious, and when he had an end in view was utterly regardless of the means by which he attained it.

other, and European vagabonds of almost every nationality went among them fomenting jealousy and strife. The government at Pretoria considered it no part of its duty to do anything for the protection of people whom the high commissioner had declared independent, and when it was pointed out that mischief-makers and unprincipled ruffians were crossing over from the republic, retorted that a much larger number of the same class went there from the British possessions, without any hindrance or check on their movements.

The chief political desire of the largest party among the burghers, now that they were reeling under the tremendous blow of the Keate award, was to obtain as president a man competent to meet the British authorities in South Africa on a footing of equality in controversy. All other qualifications were to be subservient to this one of cleverness in combating an opponent by argument. To get such a man as they wanted it was necessary to look beyond their own state, and according to the constitution it was required that the president should be an elector of five years' standing and a member of the Dutch Reformed church.

To meet this difficulty, on the 6th of November 1871 an act was passed by the volksraad amending the constitution. It provided that the president should be chosen by a majority of the burghers entitled to vote. He was to hold office for five years, unless he should resign sooner or be dismissed for lawful reasons by the volksraad. He was required to be above thirty years of age, to be a member of a Protestant church, and never to have been convicted of a dishonourable offence; but it was not necessary that he should be a burgher of the republic at the time of his election. Any one with the foregoing qualifications, who should receive requisitions signed by at least one hundred qualified voters and published in the *Staats Courant* one month before the election, was to be eligible. Every burgher over twenty-one years of age resident in the country for twelve months, or having purchased burgher rights, was to be

entitled to a vote in the election for a president. The voting was to be by ballot papers.

There was a strong party in favour of the election of President Brand, of the Orange Free State, to be president of the South African Republic also. The programme of the leaders of this party was the close union of the two republics, under one constitution if possible, and, if that could not be effected, under one president, leaving to each state its own constitution. Union, it was observed, would have been brought about years previously had it not been for Sir George Grey's explicit declaration that in such a case Great Britain would not regard the conventions as binding any longer. But of what value, after all, they contended, were these conventions? Great Britain violated them at will. She would not permit a third party to interpret them, but whenever it pleased a hostile high commissioner to interfere in matters north of the Orange, he was allowed to do so despite of the plain meaning of their clauses. As things stood, the conventions practically were binding only on the republics. Better let them go, and do all that could be done to strengthen their own position. The most glaring violations of the conventions were enumerated as

1. The stoppage of supplies of ammunition to the Orange Free State.

2. The interference on behalf of the Basuto of Moshesh.

3. The appointment of a special magistrate and stationing police on the Vaal.

4. Interference between the South African Republic and nominally the Griqua captain Waterboer, with the design of acquiring the territory in which the diamond-fields were situated.

5. Interference between the South African Republic and various Bantu tribes.

6. The dismemberment of the Orange Free State, and the appropriation of a portion of its territory.

7. The open and undisguised sale of guns and ammunition to blacks at the diamond-fields which had recently been

annexed to the British dominions, although the acting president Erasmus had brought this matter to the notice of the high commissioner, and had protested against it not only as forbidden by the conventions, but as dangerous in the highest degree to the peace and quietness of the whole of South Africa.

This party proposed then to let the conventions be considered as annulled, to push on with the waggon-road which was being constructed between Lydenburg and Delagoa Bay so as to secure communication with the outer world through a port that was not under the English flag, to establish a gunpowder manufactory in the country, to be careful to do nothing to give Great Britain an opportunity to attack them with any show of justice, but to maintain their rights, and if attacked to defend themselves to the very best of their ability. Military conquest might be prevented, they said, but even that would not put them in a much worse position than they were in already by striving to keep faith with the imperial authorities.

Requisitions embodying these views in language more or less guarded were sent to President Brand with over a thousand signatures attached to them. But that prudent statesman dreaded the growth of such opinions as detrimental to the best interests of South Africa, and declined to allow himself to be put in nomination. Officially he replied that constitutional questions prevented him from accepting the requisitions, but privately he communicated his true reasons. His was the part of the peacemaker. He visited the principal men who wished him to be the head of both republics, and discussed the matter with them.

He pointed out that England would certainly regard the union of the two states under such circumstances as a menace, and that the large number of English people in South Africa could not be expected to join against their mother country, although many of them might disapprove of the conduct of the imperial authorities. It was impossible, he said, for any section of the European inhabitants to stand alone. In face

of the enormously rapid increase of the blacks which was taking place on every side, peace, friendship, the uttermost good will, ought to exist between white people in the country, no matter what nationality their ancestors were of. He had strong hope, also, that justice would ultimately be done to the republics by the imperial government, for he believed that it was not from an inclination to be harsh and oppressive, but from ignorance of facts, that so many errors had been committed. It was an exemplification of the common proverb "onbekend maakt onbemind" — what is unknown is unloved. But hundreds of intelligent Englishmen were now visiting the distant interior, the recently discovered gold-fields in Zoutpansberg were attracting them and would continue to do so, and through them the truth concerning the republics—which was not believed in England when it came from South Africans—would certainly become known and recognised. Only have patience, he said, and all would come right.

It cannot be stated with accuracy what number, but it is certain that a large proportion—probably over two-thirds—of the burghers of the Orange Free State were at this time in full sympathy with the party in the South African Republic that President Brand was endeavouring to pacify. He succeeded, owing to his great personal influence and the confidence everywhere felt in his integrity and devotion to the welfare of the whole community.

Having failed to secure President Brand as the head of their state, the burghers of the South African Republic looked around for some one else with the requisite qualifications. There was a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed church—the reverend Thomas François Burgers—stationed at Hanover in the Cape Colony, who had in recent years been prominently before the public. Accused of holding heretical views, in 1864 he had been condemned and suspended from the ministry by an ecclesiastical tribunal; but as he held his appointment from the colonial government, he brought his case before a court of law, and won it. From the supreme

court of the Cape Colony, an appeal was made by his opponents to the privy council of England, and in 1865 judgment was given in his favour. In 1866 he gained a case which he brought in the supreme court of the colony against the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet for depriving him of his seat. Mr. Burgers was a member of one of the oldest families in South Africa, and had a strong feeling of sympathy with his countrymen. He had received a good education in Europe. A patriot, a fluent speaker in both Dutch and English, and possessed of unbounded energy, he seemed in all respects but one to be the man that was needed. His creed was not in unison with that of nineteen-twentieths of the people of the republic, and in the interior of South Africa this meant a great deal. Five years later it was the cause of hundreds of men fearing to go into battle with him as their leader. But now in the anxiety of the burghers to get a clever man as their president, this was overlooked. It was not yet known that he was fond of forming large visionary plans, and trying to carry them into effect without sufficient means.

Only one other candidate — Mr. W. Robinson — was put forward. At the election three thousand three hundred and fifty-two votes were given, of which two thousand nine hundred and sixty-four were for Mr. Burgers, and on the 1st of July 1872 he took the oath of office as president of the South African Republic.

The volksraad was carried away by his power of oratory and the belief in his great ability, so that whatever he proposed was adopted. The financial condition of the republic was deplorable. He asked to be authorised to raise a loan of £60,000 on security of the revenue and two million six hundred thousand acres of vacant land already surveyed, and consent was given. Then he desired to construct a railway towards Delagoa Bay. This was something far in advance of the views of the people, and there was no commerce nor likelihood of any that would cover its working expenses, still on the 31st of July the volksraad empowered

him to offer five hundred farms of three thousand morgen each to any company that would construct the first section of one hundred and ninety-two kilometres or a hundred and twenty miles from Klipstapel to the Portuguese boundary. A commencement had already been made with the construction of a waggon road from Lydenburg to Lourenço Marques, the Portuguese government having undertaken to complete the portion of it below the Lebombo mountains, but the work was carried on in a very feeble manner, which should have been an indication that a scheme so much larger was not then practical.

Mr. Burgers termed himself an ardent federalist, and spoke of his intense desire to see a united South Africa, but what he meant by federation, or how he proposed to bring it about, he did not explain. He was at the head of the most conservative and as far as money goes the poorest community in South Africa, and within a month of his assuming office he was proposing measures suitable to a state of ten times its population and wealth. But all looked well at the moment, for no one foresaw the disasters that were impending.

CHAPTER LXVI.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE DURING 1871.

In 1870 and the early months of 1871 there was an opportunity for a statesman in British South Africa to bind together the diverse elements of society, and with little difficulty to extend the influence of England in the interior. The republics had not yet recovered from the state of exhaustion caused by the wars in which they had been involved, and would have been only too glad to enter into any fair arrangement to secure to Great Britain, through the Cape Colony, every advantage that could be desired, provided only they were treated with courtesy and justice. No one of any note in either state refused to admit that the discovery of diamonds in vast numbers must produce a change of some kind in the country, and that England, as the power of greatest weight and importance, was entitled to a corresponding share in the settlement of the new interests that had arisen. There can be no doubt that under the circumstances then existing past errors could have been consigned to oblivion and an era of harmony have been entered upon. There was an opportunity for a statesman, but the man was not at hand to take advantage of it.

Sir Henry Barkly, on his arrival in South Africa—31st of December 1870,—found President Brand and Mr. C. W. Hutton waiting in Capetown to explain matters from their standpoint. The Free State delegates had learned that the principal officers of the colonial government were disposed to act as advocates of Nicholas Waterboer, and Mr. Hutton declared afterwards in the volksraad that he would not have remained twenty-four hours if the president, who was

earnestly desirous of an amicable settlement, had not persuaded him to stay. On the 3rd of January 1871 an interview of three hours' duration took place with the high commissioner. Sir Henry Barkly spoke of Waterboer's claim to the district in which the diamond-fields were situated as if it rested on a firm basis, and proposed that the Free State should submit the dispute to arbitration. The delegates maintained that the Free State could not refer to arbitration the question of its right to a portion of the territory transferred to it by the British authorities in 1854, in which no Griquas were living, and over which Waterboer had never exercised jurisdiction. As for the Campbell district, the condition was different, and they did not object to submit the question of its ownership to the decision of a foreign court; but after Waterboer's offer to cede his territory to the British government, the high commissioner could not be regarded as an impartial and disinterested person to act as umpire.

The delegates remained some weeks in Capetown, though from the first even President Brand saw little chance of success. The high commissioner kept them occupied in explaining in writing the pettiest details of transfers of farms, in verifying paltry documents, and such-like matters, wasting time to no purpose.

At the beginning of February Mr. Campbell — the special magistrate at Klipdrift — began to feel his way towards asserting authority on the Free State side of the river. On the 1st of the month he issued a notice cautioning all persons against purchasing or alienating land at either Klipdrift or Pniel, and on the 8th he warned the committee of management of a new camp at a place called Cawood's Hope, on the left bank of the Vaal, not to pay license fees to any one but himself. On the 8th also, he called for tenders for the hire of strong rooms to be used as a lock-up and a prison at Pniel, and for the supply of maize or millet for the use of a hundred mounted policemen on either side of the river.

These notices called forth remonstrances from the Free State government, but the high commissioner supported Mr. Campbell. In a letter to President Brand, dated on the 28th of February 1871, he stated that "as long as the boundaries between the Orange Free State and the chief Waterboer remained in dispute, all acts performed under the authority and with the consent of the latter, within the limits mentioned by Lieutenant-General Hay, were, in the opinion of her Majesty's government, of greater force and validity than those of the representatives of the Orange Free State."

After his visit to the diamond-fields at the end of February and the beginning of March 1871, Sir Henry Barkly touched at Bloemfontein on his way to the Lesuto. There he endeavoured to induce President Brand to follow the example of President Pretorius, and submit to the decision of arbitrators the right of the state to all the ground claimed by Mr. Arnot for Waterboer, and further to agree to the exclusive jurisdiction of British special magistrates over British subjects within the territory in dispute until the decision of the arbitrators should be made known. But to this the president and the executive council would in no wise consent. In the territory east of the Vaal claimed in the name of Waterboer, they observed, there were at least one hundred and forty occupied farms, a considerable number of which were held under titles issued by the Sovereignty government. They could not suspend their right of jurisdiction over any individuals there, and in case any one else should attempt to exercise authority they would be compelled to adopt measures of resistance. But as regarded the Campbell district, they were willing to submit their right to it to the decision of either the president of the United States of America or the king of Holland, or they would dispose of their title on fair terms either to the imperial or Cape colonial government, or they were prepared to exchange it for the district of Albania. Sir Henry Barkly would accept none of these proposals.

In the mean time the practical government of the diamond-fields was made almost impossible by the action of the high commissioner and the special magistrate. Under the plea that obtaining licenses from officers of the Free State would be recognising one party in the dispute, British subjects were called upon to pay taxes of all kinds to the special magistrate only, and were promised protection against the enforcement of demands by any person else. A few individuals then set the Free State authorities at defiance, upon which the president called out a commando to support the courts of law.

The high commissioner chose to regard this proceeding as a menace to the British government. On the 20th of March he wrote to the president that his "fixed determination was to repel force by force, and to protect her Majesty's subjects by every means in his power from all interference by the Free State authorities, whilst pursuing their lawful calling in the territory claimed by the chief Waterboer, as long as the question of title to the territory was not disposed of by competent authority." Under the act of the Cape parliament No. 3 of 1855, the governor was empowered to employ the frontier armed and mounted police within or without the colonial boundary as to him should seem meet. Since its enrolment it had frequently been stationed beyond the border, and at this time a detachment under Inspector Jackson was at the diggings north of the Vaal. In April the whole available force was concentrated at Hopetown, and a troop under Commandant Bowker moved on to Klipdrift to support the special magistrate.

Just before this the volksraad met in special session at Bloemfontein, for the purpose of discussing the perilous condition of the country. The members repudiated the assumption of the high commissioner that the Free State was actuated by any other than the most friendly feelings towards the British government, at the same time they deprecated the treatment the republic was receiving at the hands of Sir Henry Barkly, and declined emphatically to

submit their rights to a court of arbitration of which any of the judges should be nominated directly or indirectly by him. They felt, however, that they were under a necessity of making some proposal to show that they were only desirous of defending their own possessions, and therefore they expressed themselves ready to submit to foreign arbitration their right to the land in which the dry diggings were situated. On the 5th of April they adopted a resolution "to propose to his Excellency that the head of an independent foreign power be requested to give the desired decision as arbitrator, and to propose to the choice of the British government his Majesty the emperor of Germany, or his Majesty the king of the Netherlands, or the president of the United States of America, and that pending the said decision the jurisdiction of the Orange Free State over the disputed ground should be maintained and continue to be exercised as had hitherto been the case."

When this was communicated to the high commissioner, he replied that he was precluded from discussing the question further until the armed force of the Free State was recalled. The volksraad then resolved that the commando should be withdrawn, protesting at the same time that there never was any intention to oppose the British authorities, the object being to support the courts of law against resistance made in the name of the captain Nicholas Waterboer. Upon this the high commissioner renewed his proposal of local arbitration with concurrent jurisdiction until the result should be known, which the Free State government again declined. The phraseology which he used irritated the members of the volksraad exceedingly, for he wrote of the diamond-fields as being in that part of Waterboer's territory claimed by the Free State. Shortly afterwards Lord Kimberley announced that the reference of South African disputes to the head of a foreign country could not be agreed to by Great Britain, so that the confidence entertained in the republic of arriving at a settlement in this manner came to an end.

The imperial government must be held responsible for the acts of its agents, more especially when it formally approves of those acts; but it should be remembered at the same time that the secretary of state derives his information upon such subjects as the ownership of a plot of ground in the middle of a South African desert entirely from men situated as were Sir Henry Barkly and Lieutenant-General Hay. Whether these high officers in their turn were grossly misinformed, or not, may be left undiscussed; beyond dispute, their despatches were misleading. The distortion of events in some of them would be perfectly ludicrous if the consequences had not been so serious. As an instance, a proclamation was published by one Jacob Makantsi, a counsellor of the Barolong chief Moroko, and Theodor Doms and Roderick Barker, styling themselves diplomatic agent and commander-in-chief of the Batlapin and Barolong tribes, declaring war against the South African Republic. This was considered by some of the diggers a capital joke, and Doms was loudly cheered when he mounted on a cart and began to make a speech. The whole proceeding was a piece of buffoonery, and was so regarded by every sensible person who witnessed it, as may be seen from the accounts in the newspapers. Yet the high commissioner represented it to the secretary of state as a serious matter, and the special magistrate was credited with having prevented an attack upon the republic by his influence with the British subjects at the fields.

With information so incorrect as that supplied to him, Earl Kimberley caused despatches to be written which greatly increased the irritation existing in the Free State. In one of these despatches, dated on the 17th of November 1870, the secretary of state expressed his views as follows:

"Her Majesty's government would see with great dissatisfaction any encroachment on the Griqua territory by those republics, which would open to the Boers an extended field for their slave-dealing operations, and probably lead to much oppression of the natives and disturbance of peace. . . . I should wish you to discourage, by all practicable means

short of the application of force, any combination of the Dutch Boers and English immigrants for the purpose of expelling or overpowering the native occupants of the lands, whether Griquas or other tribes."

While using language such as this, which showed his absolute ignorance of the real condition of the country and its people, Earl Kimberley professed that he entertained the most friendly feelings towards the republics. He was averse to the extension of the British dominions in South Africa, if extension implied increased responsibility or cost. On the 24th of January 1871 he instructed Sir Henry Barkly "not to be a party to the annexation of any territory which the Cape Colony would be unable to govern and defend by its own unaided resources." The Free State government had sent to the secretary of state for foreign affairs a protest against the appointment of British magistrates to exercise jurisdiction within its territory. The secretary of state for foreign affairs had referred the protest to the secretary of state for the colonies, and the secretary for the colonies left the matter to the high commissioner's judgment, with no other reservation than the above.

On the 8th of March Sir Henry Barkly replied that "it appeared to him that the British government had already gone too far to admit of its ceasing to support the cause of either Waterboer or the diggers."

Earl Kimberley then gave the high commissioner power to annex Waterboer's territory, which he believed contained the diamond-fields, because he had been so informed. But the power so given was only to be used under certain conditions, which, if they were observed, would prevent a wrong being done. The authority was conveyed in a despatch dated on the 18th of May 1871, and containing a commission of her Majesty, issued on the preceding day. These documents were thus worded:

"It is not without reluctance that Her Majesty's government consent to extend the British territory in South Africa, but on a full consideration of all the circumstances, the presence of so large a number of British subjects on the diamond-fields, the probability that this number

will rapidly increase, the danger of serious disturbances on the northern frontier of the Cape Colony if a regular authority is not established without delay in Waterboer's country, and the strong desire expressed both by Waterboer and the new settlers that the territory in question should be brought under British rule, they have come to the conclusion that they ought to advise Her Majesty to accept the cession offered by Waterboer, if the Cape parliament will formally bind itself to the conditions which you have indicated, namely, that the colony will undertake the responsibility of governing the territory which is to be united to it, together with the entire maintenance of any force which may be necessary for the preservation of order and the defence of the new border, such force not to consist of British troops, but to be a force raised and supported by the colony."

"Victoria, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas divers of our subjects have settled in districts north of the Orange river in South Africa, and alleged to belong to certain native chiefs and tribes; and whereas it is expedient, with the consent of such chiefs and tribes, and of the legislature of our colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to make provision for the government of certain of such districts as part of our said colony: now we do by this our commission under our sign manual and signet authorise you the said Sir Henry Barkly by proclamation under your hand and the public seal of our said colony to declare that, after a day to be therein mentioned, so much of such districts as to you, after due consideration, shall seem fit, shall be annexed to and form part of our dominions and of our said colony; and we do hereby constitute and appoint you to be thereupon governor of the same, provided that you issue no such proclamation unless you have first ascertained that the native chiefs and tribes claiming the district so to be annexed are really entitled thereto and consent to such annexation, nor until the legislature of our said colony shall have provided by law that the same shall, on the day aforesaid, become part of our said colony and subject to the laws in force therein."

His power to act being thus conditional, the high commissioner applied to the Cape parliament for the authority needed. At that time the ministers were not dependent upon a majority in parliament, but held their offices by direct appointment of the secretary of state, and carried out whatever instructions the governor gave. They had the right of proposing measures and of debating in both chambers, but had no votes. The possession of the diamond-fields by any state or colony was regarded everywhere in the country as a great prize, and the governor believed that the Cape legislature would be eager to secure it. Before

causing an annexation bill to be drafted, however, he desired to obtain an expression of opinion to serve as a guide when framing it, and therefore, on the 11th of July 1871 the colonial secretary moved in the house of assembly that the house should go into committee to consider the following proposition:

"That in the opinion of this committee it is desirable and needful, as well for the interests of this colony as with a view to the maintenance of peace and order on our borders, that the territory commonly designated the diamond-fields, partly belonging to the Griquas of West Griqualand under the government of Captain Nicholas Waterboer, and partly to other native chiefs and people living in the vicinity of the said Griquas, should, in accordance with the desire expressed by the large number of British subjects now located there, and with the sanction of Her Majesty the Queen and the consent of the said Griquas and other natives, be annexed to this colony. And this committee is further of opinion that if measures having for their object the annexation of the territories aforesaid and the good government of the people resident therein are introduced into the house of assembly by his Excellency the governor, it is expedient that the house should give the most favourable attention thereto, and should do what in it lies to make proper provision for the government and defence of the said territory, and for meeting the expenditure that may be occasioned thereby."

Mr. King seconded the colonial secretary's proposal. Mr. J. C. Molteno—subsequently first prime minister of the colony under responsible government—moved as an amendment:

"That considering the questions now before the parliament affecting the future constitution of this colony, and of the adoption of the principle of a federal with provincial governments, now before a commission for the purpose of inquiry and report, and also of the existence of questions affecting territorial rights of the Orange Free State and native tribes contiguous to the diamond-fields, still unsettled, this house is of opinion that it cannot at present entertain the question of the annexation of the territories commonly designated the diamond-fields to this colony."

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Watermeyer, but upon being put to the vote, was lost, the division showing twenty-five for it and twenty-seven against. In consequence, on the 19th of July the house of assembly considered the question in committee. The colonial secretary

then moved his proposition as above, Mr. Molteno moved his amendment, and four other amendments were proposed, of which two were withdrawn after discussion and the two following were submitted to the vote:

1. By Mr. Porter, to add to Mr. Molteno's proposition,

"At the same time this committee, sensible of the evils likely to result to the large and still increasing population congregated on the diamond-fields, as well as to the people of this colony and those of the Free State, from leaving unsettled the dispute respecting the ownership of the main portion of the lands in question, desires to record its conviction that this dispute can be, and ought to be, decided justly and speedily, and without any considerable expense, by arbitrators to be found within the limits of South Africa. And this committee further considers that such a number of the armed and mounted police as the governor may deem necessary may, pending the settlement of the existing dispute, and without prejudice to the rights of any of the parties to it, be employed in preserving order amongst the diggers, of whom so great a proportion are Cape colonists."

2. By Mr. C. A. Smith, to alter the colonial secretary's proposition, so that it should read as follows:

"That in the opinion of this committee it is desirable and needful, as well for the interests of this colony as with a view to the maintenance of peace and order on our borders, that such part of the territories commonly designated the diamond-fields as belongs to the Griquas of West Griqualand under the government of Captain Nicholas Waterboer, or to other native chiefs and people living in the vicinity of the said Griquas, should, in accordance with the desire expressed by the large number of British subjects now located there, and with the sanction of Her Majesty the Queen and the consent of the said Griquas and other natives, be annexed to this colony. And this committee is further of opinion that if measures having for their object the annexation of the territories aforesaid and the good government of the people resident therein are introduced into the house of assembly by his Excellency the governor, it is expedient that the house should give the most favourable attention thereto, and should do what in it lies to make proper provision for the government and defence of the said territory, and for meeting the expenditure that may be occasioned thereby."

In the discussion that took place there was a general agreement that the acquisition of the diamond-fields would be of great advantage to the colony, that whatever territory

really belonged to Nicholas Waterboer ought to be annexed, and that no ground which of right was part of the Free State should be taken. But there were various views as to the method of determining Waterboer's true boundary. When the different propositions were put to the vote, Mr. Porter's was lost by thirty-five to sixteen, Mr. Molteno's was lost by twenty-eight to twenty-three, and Mr. Smith's was carried without a division, thus making it unnecessary to submit the colonial secretary's.

On the 20th of July Mr. Smith's proposition, having thus become the resolution of the committee, was brought before the house, when a strong feeling was exhibited by many members not to interfere at all in the matter until the dispute with the Free State was settled. Even most of those who were in favour of immediate action were careful to state that in their opinion the bill to be brought in should provide against annexing any land that was not Waterboer's. And, modified as the resolution was, it was only carried by twenty-seven votes against twenty-six. It was then communicated to the governor by the speaker, and on the 24th was sent for consideration to the legislative council. In that chamber it was carried in committee on the 28th by thirteen votes to six, but when it came on for reading, Mr. De Roubaix moved as an amendment:

"That in the opinion of this council it is desirable that the diamond-fields should be annexed to this colony, but that such annexation should not be carried out until the question of disputed territory should have been finally settled."

This amendment was only lost, and the resolution carried, by ten votes to nine. The governor, finding that notwithstanding all the influence and power of the ministers his plans were adopted by such narrow divisions, then abandoned the design of bringing in an annexation bill during that session. Instead of this, on the 5th of August, shortly before the prorogation of parliament, the colonial secretary moved a proposition in the house of assembly:

"That pending the adjustment of the boundary dispute and the passing of a law for the annexation of the diamond-fields to this

colony, this committee is of opinion that the governor should be requested to adopt such measures as may appear to him to be necessary and practicable for the maintenance of order among the diggers and other inhabitants of that territory, as well as for the collection of revenue and the administration of justice."

The colonial secretary assured the house that it was not the intention of the government to take one inch of territory from the Free State, and with this assurance the proposition was adopted without a division. Two days later it was sent to the legislative council, and with the same understanding was assented to by that chamber.

On the 15th of August the high commissioner forwarded the resolutions of the two houses of parliament to the secretary of state, feeling confident, he observed, that Earl Kimberley would regard the second as a substantial compliance with the requirements of the imperial government, and would sanction and approve such steps as he might take for carrying it into effect. "It struck him," he said, "as out of the question any longer to uphold the fiction of acting in Waterboer's name in the maintenance of order by the Cape mounted police, the collection of revenue from British subjects, and the administration of justice by British magistrates." The secretary of state replied on the 2nd of October that the resolutions did not in themselves amount to a formal compliance with the conditions laid down in his despatch of the 18th of May, but her Majesty's government relied entirely on the judgment and discretion of the high commissioner.

During this time the correspondence had not ceased between Sir Henry Barkly and President Brand. On the 18th of July the high commissioner informed the president "that he held a commission under the royal sign manual, authorising him to accept the cession of territory offered by Captain Waterboer and to annex the same to the colony with such boundaries as he might see fit to proclaim; but that he felt extremely reluctant irrevocably to fix the boundaries in direct opposition to the claims set up by the Orange Free

State, so long as the slightest chance existed of an amicable adjustment either by means of arbitration or otherwise." No solution of the difficulty was suggested, however, until the 3rd of October, when the president wrote, notifying that Advocate H. A. L. Hamelberg had been appointed plenipotentiary and diplomatic agent of the Orange Free State in England, and would bring the question of the true import of the second article of the convention of 1854 under the notice of her Majesty's government. He offered to propose to the volksraad to submit all other matters in dispute to the arbitration of a board of six members, three to be chosen by the authorities of the Orange Free State and three by the high commissioner, with any of the heads of foreign governments previously mentioned as final umpire in case the board could not agree upon a decision. This proposal was rejected by the high commissioner, who announced that after annexation he would consent to arbitration by a purely local court, but a foreign umpire was not admissible.

Mr. Hamelberg, upon reaching London, was referred by the secretary of state for foreign affairs to the secretary of state for the colonies. The latter declined to receive him in a diplomatic character, but granted him a personal interview, which led to nothing. He was informed that the rule would be adhered to that the governor of the Cape Colony should be the regular channel of communication between her Majesty's government and the Orange Free State.

On the 17th of October the Keate award was published. The Free State was not concerned in it, but it gave Nicholas Waterboer the north-eastern boundary which Mr. Arnot claimed for him, and one extremity of that boundary was Platberg on the Vaal. Ten days later—27th of October 1871—Sir Henry Barkly issued a series of proclamations, declaring the territory of Nicholas Waterboer part of the British dominions, making the laws of the Cape Colony applicable therein as far as circumstances would permit, establishing a high court of justice, making regulations for

diamond digging, confirming the holders of land in their possession of it, and dividing the territory into the three magisterial districts of Klipdrift, Pniel, and Griquatown. The boundaries of the territory were laid down as, on the south the Orange river from Kheis to Ramah, on the east a line from Ramah to David's Graf and thence to the summit of Platberg, on the north-east a line from the summit of Platberg to a point north of Boetsap; further, various points in the desert round to Kheis.

The following officers were appointed: Advocate J. D. Barry to be recorder of the high court, Attorney J. C. Thompson to be public prosecutor, Mr. Arthur Tweed to be registrar and master, Mr. P. L. Buyskes to be sheriff, Mr. J. Campbell to be civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the district of Klipdrift, Mr. Francis Orpen to be civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the district of Griquatown, and Messrs. J. Campbell, J. C. Thompson, and J. H. Bowker to be an executive committee to see that the instructions of the high commissioner were carried out. A magistrate was not appointed to the district of Pniel, in which the dry diggings were situated, as it was hoped that Landdrost Truter, who was very popular with the diggers, would consent to continue his duties under the British government.

In communicating these proceedings to the secretary of state by the next outgoing mail, Sir Henry Barkly wrote:

"I intimated to Mr. Brand that I was about to proclaim Griqualand West British territory, with the boundary in question, and requested him to give directions to the officials of the Free State in the disputed territory to withdraw in time, so as to avoid all risk of collision with the British authorities about to be stationed there. . . . I am confident that the enthusiasm with which the announcement of the extension of her Majesty's sovereignty will be hailed by the great majority of the diggers will suffice to render all attempts at opposition fruitless, whilst the difficulties in which the Free State government have latterly found themselves involved in their dealings with that class of the community will probably dispose them to rest content with a protest against this mode of ejectment from a territory they have so unscrupulously usurped."

The whole territory annexed to the British dominions received the name of Griqualand West. It was about seventeen thousand eight hundred square miles or forty-five thousand six hundred square kilometres in extent. That part of it comprised between the Vaal river, the Vetberg line, and the line from Ramah to Platberg, over which the Free State courts had exercised jurisdiction, and which, according to Sir Henry Barkly, the Free State government had "so unscrupulously usurped," contained between one hundred and forty and one hundred and fifty occupied farms. Over two hundred thousand acres of ground in it were held under British titles, granted during the Sovereignty period. It contained also the whole of the reserves along the Vaal set apart by the Sovereignty government for the use of the people of Jan Bloem, Scheel Kobus, David Danser, and Goliath Yzerbek, none of whom was ever dependent in any way upon Nicholas Waterboer or his father. It contained the Berlin station of Pniel, occupied by the Cats clan of Koranas, of which the reverend C. F. Wuras—who was then the resident missionary of Bethany and superintendent of the Berlin missions — testified that he had purchased the ground from Cornelis Kok, and had never heard of Waterboer's pretensions until recently; but that the mission had always enjoyed peace, and justice, and protection under the Free State government. No Griquas were living within it. About a thousand Europeans young and old were residing on the farms, not one of whom knew anything more of Nicholas Waterboer than that he was a petty captain, with a following of five or six hundred souls all told, occupying a district on the other side of the river.

On the 4th of November a small party of the Cape frontier armed and mounted police took possession of the dry diggings, and hoisted the British flag. Instead of the enthusiasm with which Sir Henry Barkly anticipated this act would be received, the great majority of the diggers kept very quiet. There was no uproar, and on the other side no symptom of satisfaction shown except by a small

party of blacks and a few white men not of the refined class, who followed the procession and cheered when the proclamations were read at the different camps. The dissatisfaction of the Free State people and those colonists who sympathised with them was not publicly exhibited, and perhaps the strongest expressions of disapproval were those of Englishmen with a keen sense of honour, who were indignant at the act that was being performed in England's name. A protest was drawn up by Landdrost Truter, and handed to Inspector Gilfillan, who commanded the police. Much has since been written of this event, but no disinterested person, Englishman or foreigner, who has examined the subject, has ever attempted to justify it except on the plea that it was necessary for the predominant power in South Africa to be in possession of the diamond-fields.

On the 7th President Brand published a formal protest, and indicated the course that his government would pursue, as follows:

"Whereas I am desirous of preventing any collision between the governments and people of the Cape Colony and this state, who are allied to each other by the strongest ties of blood and friendship: therefore I hereby order and enjoin all officers, burghers, and residents of this state to guard against any action which might lead to such collision, in the fullest confidence that the information and explanations which will be given to Her Britannic Majesty's government in England by our plenipotentiary will secure the acknowledgment and recognition of our just rights."

As Landdrost Truter showed no inclination to transfer his allegiance, Inspector Gilfillan was appointed to act as resident magistrate and civil commissioner at the dry diggings. He assumed duty on the 16th of November, and on the same day Messrs. Campbell and Thompson, on behalf of Sir Henry Barkly, gave Mr. Truter notice that they would prevent the continuation of magisterial and other duties by him. A prisoner charged with theft, who was in custody of the Free State police, was that afternoon rescued by the police under Mr. Gilfillan's orders. In accordance with President Brand's

instructions, the landdrost then sent in another protest, and on the 18th he retired to Bloemfontein.

These acts were all approved and confirmed by the secretary of state in her Majesty's name, on the 8th of December, on which day a commission was issued appointing Sir Henry Barkly governor of Griqualand West. Indeed, Earl Kimberley may almost be said to have directly authorised them, as on the 24th of July he had written to the high commissioner:

"If, as I trust will be the case before this despatch reaches you, Waterboer's territory has been annexed to the Cape Colony with the consent of the colonial parliament, you will renew your offer to the Orange Free State of arbitration by a commission similar to that agreed to by the Transvaal State, assuring President Brand that whilst her Majesty's government have thought it their duty to accept Waterboer's proffer of allegiance in order to prevent the disorders which must result from the prolonged absence of a settled government at the diamond diggings, they desire that the question of limits should be determined with due regard to the claims of the Free State."

On the 4th of December the volksraad met in special session to consider what should be done. A very large proportion of the burghers were disposed to take up arms, even though defeat was certain, in order to draw the attention of European powers to what was taking place. The president, who was doing all he possibly could to pacify the people, opened the session with an address in which he said:

"I have, with the advice of the executive council, considered the mode of protest as the way in which it behoves us to act, in the full reliance that our good right will be ultimately acknowledged and respected by her Britannic Majesty's government. I cherish this confidence because I am convinced that the government of England will do no injustice to the Orange Free State, but that the difficulties in which we are now involved and the vexatious proceedings towards this state are solely to be ascribed to the erroneous impressions which the British government have received in regard to the Free State. And that erroneous opinions are really entertained in England regarding the government and population of the Orange Free State appears clearly from the published despatches of the secretary of state for the colonies to his Excellency the high commissioner and governor of the Cape Colony. Mention is therein made of infringements of the territory

of the natives in order to have wider scope for slave-dealing, and of the want of a regular government at the diamond-fields as a reason for adopting Captain Waterboer and his people as British subjects; whereas every one who is in the least degree acquainted with the Orange Free State is fully aware that nothing even remotely resembling slave-dealing exists there; that the territory above the Vetberg line was never inhabited by Waterboer and his people, but has been for a number of years under the government of this state; that all disputes and trials arising within that territory are decided by the law courts of this state and by the court of final appeal; and that after the large increase of population at the diamond-fields, the government of the state, by constituting Pniel a separate district and appointing a landdrost and other officers thereto, have striven to meet the requirements of the diggers as fully as possible.

"When these and other erroneous impressions, of which we are yet unaware, shall have been put in the proper light by our representative to her Majesty's government, I fully expect that we shall be reinstated in the enjoyment of our violated rights, and that although this young state, with its population limited to thousands, cannot possibly cope in armed resistance with large and powerful England, with its population of millions, still the sense of justice and equity entertained by the government and people of Great Britain will lead to the restitution of our infringed rights."

The volksraad remained in session until the 8th of December, the discussions being carried on during the greater part of the time with closed doors. During the open sittings not a single voice was raised in favour of such arbitration as the high commissioner desired, the opinion of every speaker being that it would prove a mere sham, as Sir Henry Barkly would certainly nominate men who would decide as he wished, and so remove from him the stigma of having seized the property of a weaker neighbour. The idea of all was an appeal to public opinion in Europe. Several of the members were in favour of considering the violation of their territory an act of war, and taking up arms as the best means of attracting notice. Action so rash was, however, overruled, and on the last day of the session it was agreed to publish a protest, and circulate it as widely as possible. This document was worded as follows:

"Whereas his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, her Britannic Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa and governor of the British colony

of the Cape of Good Hope, has by proclamation dated the 27th of October 1871 accepted Captain Nicholas Waterboer and his people as British subjects, and has proclaimed to be British territory a large tract of country to the south of Vaal River, for a long course of years governed by the Orange Free State and the property of and inhabited by Free State subjects; whereas thereby infringement is made on the territorial rights of the Orange Free State, and the treaty formerly concluded and subsequently acknowledged between her Britannic Majesty and the Orange Free State is thereby violated; whereas in said proclamation allegations are made as motives for this proceeding of her Britannic Majesty's high commissioner, which cannot be admitted by the Orange Free State as just and well-founded; and whereas in regard to the inhabitants of the Orange Free State and their conduct erroneous impressions exist, which might bring them as a people into contempt in the eyes of European nations:

"The volksraad of the Orange Free State has resolved to be compelled to confirm, as it hereby does confirm, all the protests made up to this time by the state president of the Orange Free State against the said proclamation and the proceedings of the high commissioner; and solemnly and formally to protest, as it hereby does protest, and must ever persist in protesting, against the proclamation above mentioned and the proceedings of his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly in regard to Captain Nicholas Waterboer and his people and the proclaimed territory, as being an infringement of the territorial rights of the Orange Free State, obtained from the predecessors of her Britannic Majesty's high commissioner similarly acting in the name of the Queen of England, and a violation of the convention concluded on the 23rd of February 1854 between her Britannic Majesty's government and the Orange Free State, which convention was on the 12th of February 1869 at Aliwal North acknowledged by Sir Philip Wodehouse, her Britannic Majesty's high commissioner at that time.

"And the volksraad, considering that it thereby maintains the interests of the people which it represents, and upholds the dignity of the Orange Free State, has deemed it incumbent to publish to the world the reasons of its protest, with some grounds for the claims of the Free State people, and publicly to refute the accusations brought against it.

"The volksraad therefore communicates to the world that by proclamation of his Excellency Sir H. G. Smith, at that time her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa, dated 3rd of February 1848, the sovereignty of her Britannic Majesty was established over the country situated between Orange River, Vaal River, and the Drakensberg; and by further proclamation of his Excellency Sir H. G. Smith that proclaimed territory was divided into four magistracies, viz., Griqualand, with Bloemfontein as its seat of government, Winburg, with Winburg as its seat of magistracy, Vaal River, with Vrededorp—now Harrismith—as its seat of magistracy, and Caledon River, with Smithfield as its seat

of magistracy. The supremacy of her Britannic Majesty was then established over all people, whether white or coloured, living within those limits. Of that proclaimed territory a chart was made, which must still be found in the archives of the British government, on which the said proclaimed territory was delineated as bounded by Vaal River, Orange River, and Drakensberg.

"In 1854 her Britannic Majesty withdrew said sovereignty over this country, and a plenipotentiary—Sir George Russell Clerk,—commissioned by her Majesty, addressed himself to the white inhabitants then dwelling in the territory, and urged it upon them to take over the government of that territory.

"Few in number, and surrounded by hostile and powerful coloured tribes, these white inhabitants were reluctant to take its government upon themselves; but constrained by her Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiary, and hearing that no choice was left them, inasmuch as the abandonment of the country was determined on, they accepted the government of this territory.

"On the 23rd of February 1854 a convention was concluded between the said plenipotentiary of her Britannic Majesty and the delegates of the white population of this territory, in which convention, among other matters, the people of the Orange River Sovereignty—now Orange Free State—was declared to be a FREE AND INDEPENDENT PEOPLE, and was released from its British allegiance; and,—being surrounded by hostile and powerful coloured tribes, with which a collision must sooner or later inevitably take place, the white population having been invested against their will with the government of the country which her Britannic Majesty had so abandoned,—secured to itself, under the second article of the convention, the following advantages: *The British Government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the northward of Orange River, with the exception of the Griqua chief, Captain Adam Kok; and her Majesty's Government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange Free State government.* Besides this, a free import of ammunition from the Cape Colony was at the same time guaranteed. For, being wholly left to themselves, few in number, surrounded by powerful tribes which had been rendered their enemies by wars which the British government had waged against those tribes, and deprived for the time to come of the strong hand of England which had up to that time protected them, that small people were under the necessity of at least stipulating that the powerful hand of England should not be lifted up to their detriment on behalf of those hostile coloured tribes. Without the guarantee secured by the second article of the convention, the taking over of the government was an impossibility.

"Between the years 1848 and 1854 her Britannic Majesty's representatives in this territory issued many titles to land, and also established the magistracy of Griqualand, of which Bloemfontein was at first the

capital, but of which a portion, with Sannah's Poort or Fauresmith for its capital, was subsequently formed into a separate district. Whence it also arose that on the taking over of the government, delegates from Bloemfontein, Winburg, Caledon River, Vaal River, and Sannah's Poort, as representatives of the whole white population of the country, took over the government. The government handed over to them extended over the country proclaimed in 1848 by his Excellency Sir H. G. Smith British territory,* by proclamation in 1854 discharged from British supremacy, and by the convention on the 23rd of February 1854 ceded to a people from that time forward FREE AND INDEPENDENT.

"The white population being thus, against their will, charged with the government of the country and the management of their own affairs, established a republic, and gave to this territory the title of Orange Free State. By the convention of 1854 the new government—later denominated the Orange Free State government—bound itself that the titles to property and land-rights granted by the British government should be guaranteed, and that the owners thereof should not be disturbed in their possession. Faithful to the obligation thus assumed, the Orange Free State protected those who had obtained such titles, and among others those to whom titles had been granted in that tract of country now proclaimed by his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, as the property of Captain Nicholas Waterboer, to be British territory. Over this tract of country the Free State government has for a number of years exercised jurisdiction, the courts of the Free State have settled disputes between the inhabitants of those now proclaimed grounds, taxes have been levied, and all rights and obligations attached to sovereignty have been enjoyed and fulfilled.

"The titles for landed property granted by the British government between the years 1848 and 1854 in the tract of country recently proclaimed British territory are now alleged to have been granted only provisionally, or by mistake, although the Orange Free State bound itself to the maintenance of those very titles, and although those titles for land obtained from the British government have subsequently passed by sale and transfer into other hands, which transactions have been recorded in the land registers of the Free State.

"In 1865 the Free State—compelled by the reiterated violation of treaties, the neglect to fulfil solemn promises, the incessant robberies, and the presumptuous proceedings of the Basuto nation—girded on its sword, and declared war against that nation. In 1866 a peace was concluded with the Basuto nation, and a new treaty was signed whereby that nation

*This is an error, as the reserves for the use of the coloured residents were not transferred. The right of the Orange Free State to the territory between the Vaal river, the Vetberg line, and the line from Ramah to Platberg was not affected in the slightest degree by this mistake; but a large portion of the document published by Sir Henry Barkly as a reply to this protest is devoted to a refutation of it.

ceded a tract of country by way of indemnification for war expenses. That treaty was not respected, but was wantonly broken, and the Free State was once more forced to take up arms. Notwithstanding the provisions of the second article of the convention, England interfered in that dispute, declared the Basuto nation British subjects, and prohibited the transit of ammunition we required, although solemnly bound by that convention to allow it. And although the British government, on the protest of the Orange Free State against that interference as being a violation of the second article of the convention of 1854, alleged that their protection of the natives in this case did not tend to the detriment of the Free State, still the right did not then accrue to them utterly to negative the opposite view of the other contracting party, to refuse to hear them, and so to act as if such other party had no voice in the judgment of its own concerns. And in 1869 a convention was at last concluded at Aliwal North on that question between her Britannic Majesty's high commissioner and the Orange Free State, whereby the convention of 1854 was confirmed and declared not to have been violated by the proceedings of her Britannic Majesty on the Basuto question.

"On the 15th of September 1870 it was announced to the president of the Orange Free State by Lieutenant-General Hay, at that time acting governor of the Cape Colony, that Waterboer and his people had applied to be accepted as British subjects, and it was demanded of the Orange Free State to bring forward its proofs of right to the grounds claimed by Waterboer. Four days later—before the letter of the 15th of September 1870 could have reached Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State — the Orange Free State was apprised that British magistrates would be appointed by the British government in the now proclaimed grounds then actually in its possession and under its jurisdiction.

"The government of the Orange Free State, as representing a free and independent people, acknowledged as an independent State by friendly powers—among others by the United States of North America, Germany, France, Russia, Austria, Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands,—having concluded conventions and agreements with her Britannic Majesty's government, and consequently being recognised by her Majesty as such, offered to submit the decision of the claims advanced by Captain Nicholas Waterboer, and of the rights of the Orange Free State to those grounds now proclaimed, to the arbitration of the head of a friendly power; at the same time urging for a similar decision regarding the true meaning of the second article of the convention of the 23rd February 1854, grounding such claim on the law of nations, as granting such right even when one party is weak and the other powerful. This offer was refused by her Britannic Majesty's government, and in a despatch of Earl Kimberley, dated 29th of July 1871, the Orange Free State was informed that England cannot allow foreign arbitration in South Africa, because serious embarrassments might arise therefrom.

"On the 27th of October 1871 that territory which has long been governed by the Orange Free State, and in which since 1869 rich diamond mines have been discovered, was in the name of her Majesty taken away from the Free State and, as the property of Nicholas Waterboer, proclaimed to be British territory. And, although the claims of the Orange Free State to sovereignty over that territory are denied to have ever existed, the occupiers of those grounds are nevertheless guaranteed in their rights to them, if acquired from the Orange Free State before January 1870.

"In the proclamation declaring said grounds to be British territory, the following reasons are alleged for this proceeding: *that the Orange Free State has obstinately refused to submit to arbitration the existing difference between their government and her Britannic Majesty, acting on behalf of Waterboer, or has attached to it impossible conditions.* While, on the contrary, the Orange Free State has all along been, and still is, willing to submit its claims to such an arbitration as consists with international right, to which the Orange Free State as a free and independent state considers itself entitled.

"In a despatch of Earl Kimberley, dated 21st of July 1871, as a motive for proclaiming the diamond-fields British territory, it is stated *that Waterboer's offer is accepted to prevent the irregularities which would arise from a prolonged absence of a regular government at the diamond-fields.* But the Orange Free State most positively denies the soundness of this reasoning, because magistrates were appointed by the Free State over those diamond-fields, a police force was supplied, courts of justice were established, and thousands of subjects of all nations were protected by the Orange Free State in their property and persons; and that in such a manner that after the forcible seizure of the diamond-fields by her Britannic Majesty's government, addresses signed by a great number of Englishmen were forwarded to his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, requesting that under the British government the magistracy might be conferred upon the gentleman who had hitherto represented the Free State government. And in those addresses the following words, among others, occur: *that your memorialists, in accepting the administration of the British government now in force in the abovementioned and other places constituting the territory known as the diamond-fields, desire respectfully to draw your Excellency's attention to the satisfactory and efficient manner in which the Free State government has maintained law and order among the large number of people now present at the diamond-fields.* And while the existence of a regular government at the diamond-fields is denied, the functionaries appointed to those fields since his Excellency's proclamation are offering the Free State government to take over by purchase the prison and other official public buildings. The newspapers, likewise, published at the diamond-fields, are filled with comparisons between the former Orange Free State administration and the British system now violently introduced, which comparisons are to the advantage of the Orange Free State government.

"In a letter, dated 23rd of October 1871, from his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, conveying copy of the proclamation of the diamond-fields, the authenticity of a letter from Captain Andries Waterboer, father of Nicholas Waterboer, dated 10th of February 1846, is called in question on the ground of a simple denial by Captain Nicholas Waterboer, and the Orange Free State government is thus indirectly accused of forgery, although the said letter of Captain Andries Waterboer was found by the Orange Free State government among the documents taken over from the British government, while the receipt of that letter is acknowledged by the former British government in the known handwriting, attached to the letter, of a British functionary then in the service of that government.

"In a despatch, dated 17th of November 1870, Earl Kimberley accused the people of the Free State of slave-dealing, an accusation which the people of the Orange Free State indignantly repel. It invites friendly powers to inquire whether this accusation has any foundation, and fears not the result of the inquiry.

"Besides, the entire correspondence carried on by his Excellency with the Free State shows that no disposition for an accord exists with him. All proofs advanced by the Free State are treated with contempt, or their authenticity is questioned, and to everything advanced by Waterboer, even pure and simple assertions, instant belief is conceded; and all this is the more remarkable, because the Free State people is bound to the population of the Cape Colony by intimate ties of relationship, and never has interposed the slightest difficulty towards the Cape Colony.

"As an independent though weak nation, not willing to have forced upon it by a stronger neighbour a mode of arbitration in which the people of the Free State have no confidence, it refuses, and will persist in refusing, the arbitration offered it by his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, with a final umpire in South Africa, as an ultimatum. For the people of the Orange Free State will not furnish the show of right wherewith in such a case the injustice inflicted on them would be cloaked. As an independent people, they resolve to persist in their determination to claim—as a member, however small and weak, of the brotherhood of nations—to enjoy the privileges to which the law of nations entitles them.

"And whereas in the said proclamation of his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, dated 27th of October 1871, British supremacy is still further proclaimed over a great extent of country, including the so-called Campbell grounds, in which also rich diamond mines have been discovered, and which lies on the other side or west of the Vaal river; whereas the Orange Free State lays claim to the thus proclaimed Campbell grounds by virtue of a purchase in 1861 from the general agent of the Griqua chief, Captain Adam Kok; whereas the decision of the claims of the Orange Free State to those Campbell grounds, notwithstanding repeated fruitless negotiations with Captain Nicholas Waterboer, has not yet taken place; and whereas also in that respect infringement has been made on the rights and claims of the Orange Free State:

"The volksraad of the Orange Free State likewise protests formally and solemnly against the establishment of British supremacy over that territory, usually called the Campbell grounds, and against all the proceedings of his Excellency the high commissioner.

"And believing that the Most High controls the destinies of nations and protects the weak, the people of the Orange Free State humbly but confidently commits its rights and future well-being to that Supreme Ruler, feeling assured that such reliance can never be disappointed.

"F. P. SCHNEHAGE, Chairman,
"JOH. Z. DE VILLIERS, Secretary."

Though the principal diamond-fields were thus severed from the Free State, two mines remained within its limits: those on the farms Jagersfontein and Koffyfontein, both a long distance east of the line from Ramah to Platberg.

During this time the revenue of the republic was rapidly increasing. The loss of the largest diamond mines only affected the state treasury nominally, for the cost of government there absorbed the whole of the receipts. An excellent market for farm produce of all kinds remained, and the people of the Free State made good use of it. Gold and silver money speedily became plentiful, and before the close of 1871 the bluebacks, or paper currency, rose to be worth 19s. 6d. in the pound. The public revenue in 1870 was £56,453, in 1871 £64,110, and in 1872 £70,011, and the expenditure was kept well within it, so that the loans were being paid off. Of the £43,000 in notes issued to meet the Basuto war expenses, £17,000 were called in and destroyed before 1872.

In May 1871 provision was made by the volksraad for the appointment of landdrosts to the villages of Bethlehem and Rouxville, thus creating two new districts.

Prosperity was now dawning on the republic, after the series of arduous struggles which its citizens had gone through. But the memory of those who had laid down their lives for their country in the recent war with the Basuto tribe was still fresh. That future generations might have before their eyes something to remind them of what their ancestors had gone through, a monument was erected in Bloemfontein

in remembrance of the brave men who had fallen. The monument was unveiled with befitting ceremony on Monday the 29th of May 1871, after religious service in the Dutch Reformed church.* Addresses were made by the state president, the chairman of the volksraad, and other men of note, one of the most stirring being by the clergyman of the English church, who trusted that the Free State through all time would be found fighting, as in the past, only when its cause was just.

* Copy of Inscription on the Monument near the Fort in Bloemfontein.

(*North side, facing the Town*):

TER
NAGEDACHTENIS
van de
DAPPEREN
DIE IN DEN OORLOG TEGEN DE BASUTOS
van 1865-1868
HUN LEVEN LIETEN
VOOR HET VADERLAND.

DE DANKBARE NATIE.

(*East side*):

MOLAPPOS-BERG
1 December, 1865
PLATBERG
6 December, 1865
BETHLEHEM
22 January, 1866

(*South side*):

ZIJ DIE STERVEN
VOOR DE VRIJHEID
VAN HUN VADERLAND
MAKEN ZICH JEGENS HETZELVE
VERDIENSTELIJK
EN VERWERVEN ZICH
EENE ONVERWELKELIJKE
EEREKROON.

(*West side*):

MOPELI'S-BERG
14 Junij, 1865
VERKEERDEVLEI
29 Junij, 1865
VECHTKOP
14 Julij, 1865
MASOEPA'S-STAD
25 Julij, 1865

XIV.

UMZILA'S COUNTRY
BAMANGWATO
BAKWENA
BANGWAKETSE
BANOLONG
KALAHARI DESERT
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC
PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS
SWAZI LAND
TONGALAND
ORANGE FREE STATE
GRIQUALAND WEST
District belonging to the Griquas under Nicholas Waterboer in 1871
ALBANIA
THE LES UTO
NATAL
ZULULAND
NOMANSLAND
GRIQUALAND EAST
INDIAN OCEAN
Limpopo R.
Molopo R.
Vaal R.
Orange R.
Olifants R.
Pongola R.
Hart R.
Kuruman
Shoshong
Zeerust
Pretoria
Rustenburg
Nylstroom
Marabastad
Lydenburg
Hebbelburg
Louranço Marques
Inyaka Is.
Kroonstad
Bethlehem
Harrisstith
Winburg
Ladybrand
Maritzburg
Durban
Port Natal
St Lucia Bay
Hopetown
Philippolis
Colesberg
Aliwal North
Longitude 24 E of Greenwich

APPENDIX.

UNSUCCESSFUL SEARCH FOR THE FIRST BANTU TRIBE.

In endeavouring to find some indications of the first Bantu tribes in Africa and to trace the migrations of these people before 1505, I consulted a good many books, and though I did not discover what I was in search of, I obtained other information of value, and learned more about the pygmies or Bushmen, the aborigines of at least the greater part of the continent, than I knew or could gather in the Cape Colony before.

The book that goes farthest back in time is entitled *Egypt in the Neolithic and Archaic Periods*, continued as *A History of Egypt from the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII, B.C. 30.* By E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., Litt.D., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. Eight crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1902. There is a copy in the South African public library.

This valuable work contains a vast amount of information in the form of translations from hieroglyphic inscriptions of a very early date. There is more than one record of expeditions being sent southward to obtain pygmies to amuse the king by dancing before him, thus one official in the time of the fifth dynasty has placed his services on record, and among other notable events that he was sent to the land of ghosts to bring back a pygmy for the purpose indicated, and that he went by the way of Nubia to Punt, where he managed to secure one. How strange this must seem to Europeans, but how realistic it appears to South Africans who can remember the habits of the inland people of fifty years ago. One of the commonest ways of many a farmer to amuse his guests and himself was to get one of his Bushman herdsmen to dance or caper before them, with a promise of a big glass of brandy if he did it well. The agility of the little imp, the elasticity of his limbs, the wonderful contortions that he was capable of displaying, gave as much delight to the South African farmer as a similar performance by another individual of the same race gave to Pharaoh, lord of Egypt, so many thousand years ago.

There were other people besides pygmies in the valley of the Nile above Nubia in those early days, for 3233 years before the commencement of the Christian era a king of Egypt raised an army of black men there, but whether those black men had, or had not, any connection

with the Bantu there are no means of ascertaining. In 2466 B.C. Nubia was conquered by Egypt, and again in 2433 and in 2333. The Nubians, however, were certainly not near relatives of the Bantu.

The following books consulted by me are in the South African public library:—

History of Herodotus: a new English version, edited with copious notes and appendices, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most recent sources of information. By George Rawlinson, M.A., Canon of Canterbury and Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Four thick royal octavo volumes, published at London in 1880.

The Geography of Strabo, literally translated, with notes. By H. C. Hamilton, Esq., and W. Falconer, M.A. Three crown octavo volumes, published at London and New York in 1889-1893.

The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean. By William Vincent, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Two large quarto volumes, published at London in 1807. The first volume is almost entirely devoted to the Voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates, and the second to the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.

History of Ancient Geography among the Greeks and Romans from the Earliest Ages to the Fall of the Roman Empire. By E. H. Bunbury, F.R.G.S. Second edition. Two thick demi octavo volumes, published at London in 1883.

A History of Ancient Geography, by H. F. Tozer, M.A., F.R.G.S., which was chiefly drawn from the work last named, and was published in a small crown octavo volume at Cambridge in 1897.

There can be very little doubt that the eastern coast of Africa as far down perhaps as Cape Correntes was known to the inhabitants of Southern Arabia in exceedingly remote times. That they carried on commerce with India by sea is certain from various passages in the old testament, and it is most unlikely that they would expend all their energy on voyaging eastward and neglect at least to examine another coast quite as easy of access.*

They brought the spices to Egypt that were used in embalming the dead, and the great city of Thebes owed its grandeur largely to its being the distributing centre for Indian products brought in ships to the shore of the Red sea and thence overland by caravans of camels. In the very earliest times of this commerce probably a complete land route was followed, but people so far advanced as to carry on such traffic would speedily see the advantage of ocean transport, and creeping along the coast for short distances at first, they would soon learn to make use of the monsoons and steer boldly over from shore to shore. There is no other sea in the world that offers such facilities for safe navigation by small and crudely built vessels, nor one where facilities are so apparent

* A list of Indian spices that can only have been conveyed by them across the ocean is given in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus.

to the people living on its shores. A single accident, such as a vessel being blown out to sea before the monsoon, would make the coast of Africa known to the people of India, and many accidents of this kind must have occurred. So it may be taken for certain that long before the dawn of written history Indians and Southern Arabians were well acquainted with the East African coast.

That there was little to be obtained in trade on that coast below the tenth degree of north latitude, compared with the products of India, is true, and there may have been nothing at all, for no one can say with certainty that a race more advanced than Bushmen then inhabited the adjoining part of the continent. But if there was no trade, there was ivory to be collected, and timber—an article of necessity to the Arabians, which their own country did not furnish—to be cut, and possibly gold to be gathered in the territory that now bears the name Rhodesia. There is no record of any kind in existence, however, from which information can be obtained concerning the inhabitants of Eastern Africa in those far off times, and mere conjecture is valueless.

About the year 992 before Christ an event of importance took place. Solomon, ruler of Israel, had extended his kingdom southward, was in possession of Idumea and the isthmus of Suez, and had established a naval station at Ezion-geber on the gulf of Akaba at the head of the Red sea. He must have known of the existence of an extensive traffic on the shores of what we term the Indian ocean, and have resolved to secure a share of it, or he would not have done this. But his subjects were unused to the sea, and so he had recourse to his ally, Hiram, king of the great commercial city of Tyre, then the wealthiest community in the known world, whose riches were gained by water traffic with many distant peoples.

The Phœnicians may have kept up an uninterrupted trade on the Indian ocean from the time when their ancestors removed from its shore to that of the Mediterranean, though it would appear that in the tenth century before Christ they purchased most, if not all, of the eastern produce that they needed from Sabean merchants, conveyed it in vessels up the Red sea, and then transported it on camels to Tyre. But in whatever manner they acquired their knowledge, some of the subjects of Hiram certainly were acquainted with the sea to the south, and they went as officers just as they would have done in a fleet entirely their own, while sailors were engaged wherever fishermen could be found or recruits could be hired or purchased. This was the manner in which the commerce of Tyre was carried on, just as in modern times the army of the Netherlands East India Company consisted of Dutch officers and foreign soldiers.

So with the aid of Hiram, who had a large share of the profit and who was unable to carry on the trade alone on account of Solomon's possession of Idumea, fleets were built at Ezion-geber, of which every particle of the material must have been conveyed overland from the Mediterranean

shore, and then they sailed southward to carry on commerce on a very large scale. Of this enterprise the following account is given in the ninth and tenth chapters of the first book of Kings :

"And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon."

"And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees, and precious stones."

"Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred three score and six talents of gold, (equal to £3,646,350), beside that he had of the merchantmen, and of the traffic of the spice merchants, and of all the kings of Arabia, and of the governors of the country."

"For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram : once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks."

Those Phœnicians must have known a great deal about Eastern Africa and its people, but they left absolutely nothing on record, and it is only from their brief connection with the kingdom of Israel that the information given in the sacred writings is obtained. They kept all their geographical knowledge carefully to themselves, for they did not wish to bring commercial rivalry into existence. And so the ships of Tharshish, which I take to mean the largest and best equipped vessels for long voyages then known, went up and down the coast ploughing the waters of the Indian sea, perhaps keeping the shore always in sight, or perhaps, like the South Arabian vessels, making direct courses from point to point with the sun and the stars for their guide, while the wisest men in Europe were ignorant of the existence of such a vast sheet of water or of the mass of land that closed it in on the western side.

Upon the death of Solomon his kingdom was divided into two sections, each too weak to carry on such great enterprises as he had engaged in, and though on one occasion subsequently the rulers of the separate states united to fit out and despatch a fleet from Ezion-geber, the attempt ended in failure and was never again repeated.

The extensive commerce of Tyre continued to be carried on, but whether she still maintained fleets in the Red sea is doubtful, for she may have needed foreign assistance to be able to do that. In the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, written about 588 years before Christ, there is a graphic account of her enormous trade, and from the twenty-second verse it would appear that her Indian wares were furnished by the merchants of Southern Arabia.

The splendid city was taken and destroyed after a siege of thirteen years by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in the year 573 before

Christ, but was soon afterwards rebuilt on an island close to the mainland, and partly recovered its commercial importance. It was taken again in 332 B.C. by Alexander the Great, of Macedon, after a siege of eight months, when its celebrity ceased for ever, as Alexandria, at the mouth of the western outlet of the Nile, took its place as the greatest commercial city of the world.

The Israelites and the Phœnicians not having supplied any information concerning the dark-skinned people of Africa, we turn now to the Greeks to ascertain whether they perchance knew and placed on record anything about them.

In the Homeric age, which is believed to have been somewhere between 1200 and 850 before Christ, the Greeks were aware that such people lived somewhere to the south, but of them, beyond their existence, they knew nothing. They considered the inhabited world to be a circular plane, with a great stream flowing round it, and farther away than the renowned city of Thebes in Egypt, on the border of this ocean stream, the Ethiopians were stated in the Iliad to dwell. The name Ethiopian was of course not that by which the people called themselves, but was that applied to them by the Greeks, and meant (*αἰθίοψ*) sunburned, swarthy. They were described by Homer as a "blameless people, whom the gods themselves visit, and partake of their feasts." In the Odyssey they are mentioned further as divided into two sections, the most distant of men, some living where the sun sets and some where he rises.

It is evident from this that the Greeks had a dim knowledge that black men were occupying the valley of the Nile above Egypt, but whether the remote ancestors of the Bantu were among them it is utterly impossible even to make a conjecture. There is, however, reference to another race in the upper valley of the Nile, which, if it stood alone, would be regarded with justice as mythical, but as from this time onward for many centuries it was constantly repeated, must be considered as having a foundation in fact. The Greeks had heard vague rumours of pygmies living in the same part of the world as the Ethiopians, and the poet introduced them in his immortal work as veritable tom-thumbs, "men no bigger than your fist," whose mortal enemies were the cranes.

Probably no Greek of that age had ever seen a black man or a pygmy, and the vague knowledge that they had of the existence of such people must have been derived from Phœnician traders, who brought ivory among other things to them for sale, and who could have told them a great deal about Africa and its people, if they had not chosen to keep their knowledge to themselves and give fabulous accounts of everything beyond the immediate ken of those who listened to them. In this matter of the pygmies, we have the earliest reference by any European to the Bushman race, that must then have extended over all Africa south of the confines of Egypt.

The Homeric poems for many centuries were regarded by the Greeks as the repositories of all knowledge, and it was considered sinful to question the accuracy of Homer in such a matter as the locality of an island or the direction of a river. To so great a length did this reverence extend that even after the true form of the earth was known and its size approximately ascertained by Eratosthenes and others, the inhabited part was believed to be surrounded by an ocean stream, and Strabo, the most competent of all the ancient geographers, zealously maintained the authority of Homer.

In one matter only was it generally admitted that he had used the license of a poet, and that was in his description of the pygmies, who are pictured by later writers not as tom-thumbs but merely as men under the ordinary size.

The historian Herodotus, who was born in the year 484 before Christ, tells all that was known by the Greeks of his day of the people of Africa. With Egypt he was familiar, and his description of the Nile and its valley up to the first cataract is correct. From Elephantine just below the first cataract to Meroë, the principal town of the Ethiopians, the country is described from verbal information that he obtained and from traditions concerning the intrusion of an Egyptian army thus far.

Herodotus follows Homer in dividing the Ethiopians into two sections, but he is very much better acquainted with them than Homer was. The Eastern Ethiopians he placed along the southern coast of Asia, in a satrapy of Persia, extending from the mouth of the Indus to the entrance of the Persian gulf. And there to the present day a dark-skinned people extremely low in civilisation is to be found.

The Western Ethiopians he placed in the valley of the Nile south of Egypt. Above the first cataract there was an island inhabited partly by Egyptians and partly by Ethiopians, and beyond that were Ethiopians alone, with the exception that a large band of Egyptian soldiers, said by him to be two hundred and forty thousand in number, had deserted and marched into Ethiopia at a date corresponding to about 650 B.C., and had been settled by the Ethiopian king as far beyond Meroë as Meroë was beyond Elephantine. These people he termed the Automoli or Deserters, but by succeeding writers they are called the Sembritæ or Sebritæ. The locality assigned to them was in about 13° to 14° north latitude, Meroë being not far above the junction of the Atbara with the Nile, or in latitude 17° north.

Whether the Ethiopians in the valley of the Nile at this time were one people or whether they were composed of tribes of different origin, among whom were the originators of the Bantu, cannot be ascertained from any information that Herodotus gives. Not a word of the language or languages used by them has been transmitted to us, not an observation upon religion or peculiar customs that might lead to identification has been supplied. But from what he tells of the Automoli, though their number must be grossly exaggerated, it is certain that at least as early

as six centuries and a half before Christ there were disturbing factors in the upper valley of the Nile, elements that must sooner or later have clashed and caused extensive migrations.*

The pygmies are in evidence too, but they are no longer to be found in the valley of the Nile below Senaar. Evidently the more stalwart people had increased there, and the little hunters had either been exterminated or compelled to retire from the field. They were reported to be south of the desert, and though Herodotus never saw one, he obtained information that enabled him to give a most graphic description of them. He described them as troglodytes, that is dwellers in caves or caverns, as consuming serpents, lizards, and other reptiles, as being the fleetest of foot of any people he had ever heard of, and whose language was like the squeaking of bats. It would be hardly possible to compress in fewer words a description of the Bushman race.

But that is not all he related of the pygmies. He had been informed that five young Nasamonians, actuated by a spirit of inquiry and adventure, had set out on a journey of exploration from the coast of the country now called Tripoli, and having travelled first to the south and then to the west through the inhabited parts and the desert, reached a territory where they were made prisoners by men of small stature. These conducted them through extensive marshes to the bank of a great river flowing from west to east, in which were crocodiles. All the people they saw were pygmies, black in colour, addicted to magic, and speaking a language unintelligible to the Nasamonians. How the travellers escaped we are not told, but they succeeded in retracing their steps, and reached their homes again in safety.

Possibly the river which was the terminus of their journey was the Niger, a stream which baffled the curiosity of Europeans down to 1830, when it was traced to its mouth by the brothers Richard and John Lander. Before that time it was supposed by most geographers to be a branch of the Nile. Herodotus assumed that it was the main stream of the Nile, which he believed flowed from west to east to the settlement of the Automoli, and then with a sudden bend turned to the north. He had no conception of the great extent of the African continent to the southward, and holding the generally received opinion of the Greeks that it was bounded by the ocean stream not far from the land of the Automoli, he could not account for the volume of water in the Nile except by assuming that it flowed from the west.

Herodotus had heard that Pharaoh Necho, who reigned in Egypt from 610 to 594 before Christ, had despatched a Phœnician fleet that sailed round Africa from the head of the Red sea through the pillars of Hercules or strait of Gibraltar to the mouth of the Nile, but of the particulars of the voyage he had obtained no account except that it

*There is no mention of the Automoli in Egyptian history, nor any trace in the hieroglyphic inscriptions so far deciphered of the desertion of such an army. But nations do not usually record their own disasters.

occupied three years and that the voyagers during part of the passage had the sun on the north. The last statement is commonly regarded as a proof that such a voyage was really made, but it does not seem to be of much weight. It was then well known that only a short distance south of Elephantine on the Nile the sun was seen in the north for several days every year, and the natural inference could not be avoided that on the ocean stream farther south the duration would be longer.

The exact words of the statement are: "As for Libya, we know it to be washed on all sides by the sea, except where it is attached to Asia. This discovery was first made by Necôs, the Egyptian king, who on desisting from the canal which he had begun between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf, sent to sea a number of ships manned by Phœnicians, with orders to make for the Pillars of Hercules, and return to Egypt through them, and by the Mediterranean. The Phœnicians took their departure from Egypt by way of the Erythrean Sea, and so sailed into the southern ocean. When autumn came, they went ashore, wherever they might happen to be, and having sown a tract of land with corn, waited until the grain was fit to cut. Having reaped it, they again set sail; and thus it came to pass that two whole years went by, and it was not till the third year that they doubled the Pillars of Hercules, and made good their voyage home. On their return they declared—I for my part do not believe them, but perhaps others may—that in sailing round Libya they had the sun upon their right hand. In this way was the extent of Libya first discovered." *

The Phœnicians were competent at that time to make voyages of considerable length, and they must have been acquainted by tradition at least with the East African coast a great distance down, but they never made their knowledge available for others. From them, if Africa had been circumnavigated, the Greeks would have heard nothing of it. But it was said to have been accomplished in the service of Necho, a king who favoured commerce, and who caused docks to be constructed at the head of the Red sea for the use of trading vessels. Is it possible that such a wonderful event as the discovery of a vast area of land previously unknown could have taken place without any record of it being preserved in Egypt, or is it not much more likely to have been just an idle tale told by people who believed the ocean stream to run round all the continents and the Erythrean or Indian sea as part of it to be connected with the Atlantic far north of the equator? That this body of water was navigable was a matter of course, that it had been navigated from one side of Africa to the other was told of several expeditions beside this of the Phœnicians, and with as little probability of truth in any one instance as in any other.

* The extent of Libya, or the African continent, was not known, or even conjectured, by either the Egyptians or the Greeks in the time of Herodotus. If such a voyage had been made, there would certainly have been some mention of it in the Egyptian records.

Before the time that Herodotus wrote the West African coast had been explored a long way down, but he knew nothing of it. The voyage of discovery was made by a Carthaginian officer named Hanno, whose object was to plant trading stations and inspect the seaboard as far as he could. Hanno sailed with a fleet of sixty ships from Carthage some time between 520 and 470 B.C., and after passing the strait now called Gibraltar, kept close to the shore and made himself acquainted with as many particulars concerning it as possible. At a distance of several days' sail from the strait he landed and learned from some Libyan shepherds that the interior was occupied by people who lived in caves and holes in the mountains, were of strange appearance, and swifter of foot than horses. Along the coast several trading stations were established, the last on the little island of Cerne, in a deep bay at the mouth of the river Do Ouro, in latitude 23° 50′ north.

From Cerne the explorer, now relieved of his passengers, and probably of his storeships, proceeded southward along the coast until he reached the mouth of the river Senegal. There something happened of which we have no information, that obliged the fleet to put back to Cerne, but setting out the second time Hanno kept on to Cape Verde, which he observed carefully and described accurately. South of that cape grass fires were seen, which terrified the crews, for the whole land seemed to be ablaze, just as it and other parts of the African coast are sometimes seen by modern voyagers at night. Still the fleet proceeded onward, until it reached Sherboro Sound, in latitude 7° 45′ north. Here some great apes resembling human beings were seen, and three of the females were killed, the skins of two of which were taken back to Carthage as curiosities. The explorers called them gorillas, and that name is now applied to the largest of the man-like apes found in Western Africa, though it is probable that the animals discovered by the Carthaginians were chimpanzees, as the males are stated to have taken to flight.

Sherboro Island was the farthest point reached by the expedition under Hanno. Here the coast trends to the south-east, but at no great distance turns abruptly to the east and forms the deep indentation known now as the gulf of Guinea. The general course from the strait of Gibraltar had been towards the south, but the old inaccuracy in the delineation of the African continent by the Greeks was not corrected after the discoveries made by Hanno were known. The Carthaginians were very careful not to impart useful knowledge to others, but an account of this voyage was inscribed on a tablet and placed in the temple of Moloch in their city, where it was copied, probably without the consent of the authorities. It was translated into Greek, and is known to have been extant in that language in the third century before Christ. But as Hanno kept no other reckoning than days' sail, and as anything resembling a compass was then unknown, though he distinctly stated that his course outward was towards the south, the Greek

geographers, in their belief that the continent was bounded by the ocean stream far north of the equator, assumed that he must really have steered to the east, and marked his discoveries in that direction. The Portuguese explorers of the fifteenth century made known the true form and size of Africa, and only then was it possible to lay down the route of Hanno correctly and to fix with precision the places that he visited, which fortunately could be done from his accurate description of them.

Of the people of the African continent practically no information whatever is to be derived from the account of this expedition, but the event is a very interesting one.

The renowned scientist Aristotle, the tutor of Alexander the Great, who lived from 384 to 321 B.C., in his writings throws no light upon the subject of this inquiry. He believed that in the southern hemisphere there was a temperate belt corresponding to the one in the northern, but he expressed no opinion as to whether it was inhabited or not. Between these belts he held that there was a zone uninhabitable on account of intense heat. He knew of the existence of the pygmies in what we would term Northern Africa to-day, and described them as men under the middle height and black complexioned, but of any people corresponding to the Bantu he was quite ignorant..

In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285 to 247 B.C., the Greeks of Egypt must have known a great deal about the interior of Africa and its people, but they have left nothing on record that can lead to identification of the Bantu. That monarch founded a station named Myos-Hormus on the western shore of the Red Sea, in about latitude 27° north, in order to carry on commerce in Indian products. Goods purchased by Greek merchants from Arabs at Aden, Saba, and other emporiums were conveyed by water to Myos-Hormus, and then transported overland to Koptos on the Nile, a distance of about two hundred miles or three hundred and twenty kilometres by the road. Far down the Red sea other stations were founded, from which elephant hunters were sent inland to capture young animals, that were taken to Egypt and trained to serve in war. That some of these hunters went a considerable distance inland south and south-west of Abyssinia is almost certain, but the information obtained from them is of elephants captured, not of tribes encountered.

In the year 30 B.C. Egypt became a Roman province, and nine years later—in 21 B.C.—an army under Petronius entered Abyssinia, where such success awaited it that Kandáke, the queen of that country, was obliged to become a tributary. At that time it is evident that no Bantu were living so far north, but beyond this nothing is to be learned regarding them.

Passing by writers of less importance, we come now to the great geographer Strabo, of Amasia, in Pontus, who died about the year of our Lord 21, and in whose work the highest knowledge of the Greeks

and Romans concerning the earth and its inhabitants at the commencement of the Christian era is to be found.

Strabo resided for some time at Alexandria, where he had access to everything on the subject that had previously been written, and he travelled up the Nile as far as Syene, close to the first cataract, nearly under the northern tropic, where three Roman cohorts were then stationed. His idea of the form of the earth and of its division into five zones—one torrid, two temperate, and two frigid—was that of the present day; but he was the most orthodox of all the devotees of Homer, and everything in his geography is made to fit in with the expressions of the poet. So the Africa of Strabo is a continent bounded on the north by the sea now called the Mediterranean, on the east by the Arabian gulf or as we term it the Red sea, and on the south by the ocean stream which washed its coast first westward and then north-westward from Cape Noti Keras, or Guardafui as now termed, to the pillars of Hercules, the modern strait of Gibraltar. His Africa is much the smallest of the three continents, and might be represented by the body of a plough of which the share was formed by the promontory ending in Cape Noti Keras.

The Sembritæ he regarded as the most distant inhabitants of Africa, living on the border of the ocean. How wide that ocean was he could not even conjecture, but whether land or sea, adjoining the equator was a belt so hot that it could not be occupied or traversed, just as at the poles there were tracts that were uninhabitable on account of the cold. Strabo believed it possible that beyond the known part of the sea in the north temperate zone there might be habitable land, so that a vessel sailing westward from the coast of Europe might reach it. Of the south temperate zone he thought it most probable that it was inhabited, "but not by the same race of men as dwell with us, and it must therefore be regarded as another habitable earth."

It seems strange to us who live in a time when communication is so rapid and easy, and when information is so widely scattered by means of printed books, that Strabo was entirely ignorant of the eastern coast of Africa below Cape Guardafui. Something about it must have been known by an occasional ship-captain that sailed beyond the gulf of Aden. The commerce between the ports on the Red sea and Arabia had greatly increased since the occupation of Egypt by the Romans, and a direct trade with the coast of Malabar was now carried on by the Greeks of Alexandria as well. Strabo states that "the traffic of the Alexandrian merchants whose vessels pass up the Nile and the Arabian gulf to India has rendered us much better acquainted with these countries than our predecessors were. I was with Gallus at the time he was prefect of Egypt and accompanied him as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I found that about one hundred and twenty ships sail from Myos-Hormus to India, although in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely anyone would venture on this voyage and the commerce with

the Indies." And yet the present Somali coast was entirely unknown to him.

Strabo's description of Ethiopia and the Ethiopians can be given in his own words as translated into English:

"But Egypt it (the Nile) traverses both alone and entirely, and in a straight line, from the lesser cataract above Syene and Elephantina (which are the boundaries of Egypt and Ethiopia), to the mouths by which it discharges itself into the sea. The Ethiopians at present lead for the most part a wandering life, and are destitute of the means of subsistence, on account of the barrenness of the soil, the disadvantages of climate, and their great distance from us."

"For formerly not even twenty vessels ventured to navigate the Arabian Gulf, or advance to the smallest distance beyond the straits at its mouth; but now large fleets are despatched as far as India and the extremities of Ethiopia, from which places the most valuable freights are brought to Egypt, and are thence exported to other parts."

"For the mode of life (of the Ethiopians) is wretched; they are for the most part naked, and wander from place to place with their flocks. Their flocks and herds are small in size, whether sheep, goats, or oxen; the dogs also, though fierce and quarrelsome, are small. It was perhaps from the diminutive size of these people, that the story of the Pygmies originated, whom no person, worthy of credit, has asserted that he himself has seen.

"They live on millet and barley, from which also a drink is prepared. They have no oil, but use butter and fat instead. There are no fruits, except the produce of trees in the royal gardens. Some feed even upon grass, the tender twigs of trees, the lotus, or the roots of reeds. They live also upon the flesh and blood of animals, milk, and cheese. They reverence their kings as gods, who are for the most part shut up in their palaces.

"Their largest royal seat is the city of Meroë, of the same name as the island. × × × The inhabitants (of the island) are nomades, who are partly hunters and partly husbandmen. There are also mines of copper, iron, gold, and various kinds of precious stones.

"The houses in the cities are formed by interweaving split pieces of palm wood or of bricks. × × × They hunt elephants, lions, and panthers. × × ×

"Above Meroë is Psebo, a large lake, containing a well-inhabited island. As the Libyans occupy the western bank of the Nile, and the Ethiopians the country on the other side of the river, they thus dispute by turns the possession of the islands and the banks of the river, one party repulsing the other, or yielding to the superiority of its opponent.

"The Ethiopians use bows of wood four cubits long, and hardened in the fire. The women also are armed, most of whom wear in the upper lip a copper ring. They wear sheepskins, without wool; for the sheep

have hair like goats. Some go naked, or wear small skins or girdles of well-woven hair round the loins.

"They regard as God one being who is immortal, the cause of all things; another who is mortal, a being without a name, whose nature is not clearly understood.

"In general they consider as gods benefactors and royal persons, some of whom are their kings, the common saviours and guardians of all; others are private persons, esteemed as gods by those who have individually received benefits from them.

"Of those who inhabit the torrid region, some are even supposed not to acknowledge any god, and are said to abhor even the sun, and to apply opprobrious names to him, when they behold him rising, because he scorches and tortures them with his heat; these people take refuge in the marshes.

"Some tribes throw the dead into the river; others keep them in the house, enclosed in hyalus. Some bury them around the temples in coffins of baked clay. They swear an oath by them, which is reverenced as more sacred than all others.

"The following custom exists among the Ethiopians. If a king is mutilated in any part of the body, those who are most attached to his person, as attendants, mutilate themselves in the same manner, and even die with him. Hence the king is guarded with the utmost care."

Among the customs here mentioned are several that seem decidedly characteristic of Bantu, but by Strabo they were regarded as common to all the inhabitants of the Nile valley above Syene, and it is impossible from his account to determine whether there were or were not distinct races of men among them. Some must have been Nubians, others Abyssinians, and it is just possible that some of the most distant may have been Bantu, but beyond this supposition all is vague and uncertain. The pygmies, it will be observed, have so entirely disappeared that their earlier existence even was doubtful.

Within three-quarters of a century from the time of Strabo a very great advance was made in the knowledge by the Greeks and Romans of the eastern coast of Africa. Exactly the same thing had happened as when the Portuguese appeared in the Indian sea more than fourteen centuries later: the Europeans, that is the Egyptian Greeks under Roman dominion, had almost driven the Arabs from the ocean and monopolised the eastern trade. About the year of our Lord 47 a pilot named Hippalus became acquainted with the fact that the wind blew steadily from one quarter during certain months, and just as steadily from the opposite quarter during another season of the year. How it happened that the discovery of the monsoons was not made by the Greeks long before seems very strange, but so it was. They had not now to make a circuit along the coast of Asia, but could steer straight across the ocean, and without difficulty could visit any land that the

Arabs had frequented before. Their ships were stronger than those of the Arabs, and in war they were superior to their naval rivals.

A few years after the discovery of Hippalus, which had such momentous consequences, the Arab emporium at Aden was destroyed by order of the emperor Claudius, though it was shortly afterwards occupied by the conquerors, and by them was termed the Roman port. The commerce of India with the dominion of the sea was then lost by those who had enjoyed it so long. Some of the coasting trade in small vessels appears to have been left to them for a time, but at length that too was taken from them, their commercial settlements on the African coast were abandoned, and for several centuries they were confined to their own country and to such trade as could be carried on by caravans. As the Roman power declined, however, the Arabs recovered some of the ocean commerce, and at length under the influence of a new religion they bounded into activity again, and with amazing vigour and energy brought into subjection a very large portion of the known world. The conquest of Alexandria by Amrou in the twentieth year of the Hegira, the year 640 of the Christian era, carried with it the absolute destruction of the Greek trade in the Indian sea, and the Arabs had once more a monopoly of intercourse with Hindostan and Eastern Africa.

Just before the Egyptian Greeks succeeded in acquiring the full dominion of the Indian sea and ejecting the Arabs from it, a flood of light was thrown upon the condition of a large part of the eastern coast of Africa. About the year 80 of our era, or possibly a little later, appeared a very remarkable treatise on navigation termed *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, which is believed to have been the production of a Greek merchant of Alexandria, who had inspected in person the greater part of the coasts he described. It contains a wonderful amount of information, and was the first treatise to make known to Europeans generally the extent of the African coast visited by the Arabs. In this periplus the coast is described from Myos-Hormus as far down as an island termed Menuthias, which Dr. Vincent is of opinion was the Zanzibar of our day, but which other investigators believe to be Pemba, as better answering the description of a low wooded island thirty miles or forty-eight kilometres from the coast. The distance named is greater than it is in reality, but for a conjecture without measurement it is not very inaccurate. Either Pemba, Zanzibar, or Mafia it must have been, and it is most unlikely to have been the last. Two days' sail south of the island of Menuthias was the commercial station of Rhapta on the mainland, the last of the kind on the seaboard of Azania. Dr. Vincent believed this place to be where Kilwa was afterwards built, but if Menuthias was Pemba, Rhapta must have been on or near the site of the present settlement of Bagamoyo. What the Arabs or the African inhabitants designated the place is not mentioned, Rhapta (from ραπτω to sew) being the Greek name given to it on account of the vessels sewed together with coir which frequented the port.

The exports of Rhapta are mentioned as ivory, rhinoceros horns, tortoise shells, and shells for ornaments. It, as well as a few other commercial stations farther up the coast, was inhabited by Africans, but the Arabs had established fortified factories, by means of which they controlled the populace. Each station was absolutely independent of all the others as far as government was concerned. Rhapta itself was subject, *in virtue of old established right*, to the ruler of a district in Yemen, from whom the merchants of Muza on the south-eastern shore of the Red sea rented it, and they carried on a regular trade to it with their own ships. The traders spoke the language of the inhabitants, and were in the habit of forming alliances with their females.

The Arabs change not, as they were three thousand years ago, so they are to-day. The picture of the East African coast in the periplus is an almost exact counterpart of the same coast when the Portuguese discovered it at the close of the fifteenth century, except that real settlements, not mere trading stations, came into existence during the second period. That there were Indians mixed with the Arabs can hardly be doubted, as they would naturally be employed in carrying on the trade. And these foreigners, who must have numbered at least several hundreds, were mingling their blood with that of the Bantu inhabitants in the first century of the Christian era, how long before no one can say. It is unfortunate that no description of the inhabitants is given in the periplus, but there is one word of great significance to be found in it. The country along the coast to Rhapta from about latitude 5° north is termed *Azania*. This is to a certainty a Greek form of the Arabic name, and we are therefore justified in assuming that this territory was then occupied by Bantu tribes, and was regarded by the Arabs as the country of the Zendj.

The old theory of a zone uninhabitable on account of heat was now proved to be incorrect, for Greeks had advanced without difficulty to latitude 7° south. So far Bantu occupied the coast, but whether they extended farther at that time it is impossible to say. If they did, the question may reasonably be asked why the Arabs who had been there so long had not formed trading stations farther south? and to this no reply can be given. That they had explored the coast farther down cannot be doubted, but there may have been reasons, unconnected with the existence or non-existence of inhabitants so far civilised as to carry on commerce, for their not caring to fix themselves beyon d Rhapta.

The information contained in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* must have been quite new to learned men in all parts of the Roman empire except Egypt, for Pliny the elder was entirely unacquainted with Eastern Africa.* Caius Plinius Secundus, who was born in A.D. 23, published

*The books named in the remaining part of this article were consulted by me in the library of the British Museum, which the change of ministry in the Cape Colony early in 1908 enabled me to visit once more.

in 77, two years before his death in the great eruption of Vesuvius which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii, an exceedingly comprehensive work, that can now be read in English as well as in the original Latin. The edition in our language is entitled *The Natural History of Pliny, translated, with copious notes and illustrations, by the late John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., and H. T. Riley, Esq., B.A., late Scholar of Clare Hall, Cambridge.* It is in six crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1855 to 1858.

Pliny believed Africa to be much the smallest of the three continents. His account of the Ethiopians is not only fabulous, but utterly absurd, such as a child might laugh at. He speaks of pygmies in different countries, among others some in India only twenty-seven inches (68·58 centimetres) in height. Of those in Africa his only remark is: "Some writers have also stated that there is a nation of Pygmies, which dwells among the marshes in which the river Nile takes its rise." The value of his work, as far as the subject of this inquiry is concerned, is purely negative, showing that Africa beyond Abyssinia was absolutely unknown to the most learned man of his day in Rome.

The next source of information that is available is the work of the renowned astronomer and geographer Ptolemy. Claudius Ptolomæus, of whose personal history nothing is known except that he was a native of Egypt, wrote at Alexandria about the middle of the second century of our era. The system which he introduced of laying down places on maps according to their latitude and longitude is the one still in use, and his map of the world is an enormous improvement upon all that preceded it, but as the position of very few places indeed was then accurately known from astronomical observations, he was obliged to have recourse to the crudest means for ascertaining the distance and direction of all other points, many of which it is evident he laid down by guesswork.

This is certainly the case with regard to the territory in Africa termed Agysimba, which he placed in the centre of the continent, on the parallel of 16° south of the equator. Two Roman officers, Septimius Flaccus and Julius Maternus, had been engaged in expeditions to the south, Flaccus from Cyrene and Maternus from Leptis. Flaccus reported that the Ethiopians of Agysimba were three months' journey south of the Garamantes, and Maternus stated that when he and the king of the Garamantes set out from Garama to attack the Ethiopians of Agysimba, they marched four months to the south. Rhinoceroses abounded in Agysimba. A preceding writer had stretched these distances to a fabulous length, and Ptolemy with these data and nothing more reduced the estimate of Marinus and fixed the position, giving as his reason that as black men and rhinoceroses were not found north of Meroë, Agysimba was probably the same distance south of the equator. The best commentators are now disposed to believe that Agysimba was in the Soudan, not far from the Sahara.

Of the eastern coast Ptolemy gave information similar to that of the periplus of the Erythrean sea, and stated that from Rhapta southward to Cape Prasum a gulf or shoaly sea extended, the shore of which was occupied by Ethiopians who were cannibals. It is conjectured that Cape Prasum is the Cape Delgado of our day. The Bantu are thus brought down to the tenth degree of south latitude, for there can be no doubt that the Ethiopian anthropophagi were of their family. Some terrible commotion must have taken place among them, and they had been compelled to resort temporarily to cannibalism and probably to migrate southward, as has more than once been the case in modern times. Ptolemy assigned latitude 15° south to Cape Prasum, but that is no guide to its position, as it was mere conjecture on his part.

But in one respect he made a wonderfully correct supposition with regard to Africa. The Greek traders who had supplanted the Arabs at Rhapta were in the habit of sending mixed breeds inland to collect ivory, and these men reported the existence of two large lakes and of mountains covered with snow in the lands that they visited. This information was communicated to Ptolemy, and though it was vague, he at once concluded that the lakes must be the sources of the Nile, and that the melting of the snow on the mountains was the cause of the periodical rising of the great river. In his map he laid down the lakes very nearly in their true position, and thus gained credit with many modern writers for knowledge which he did not really possess.

That he had no actual information concerning any part of Africa distant from the coast and south of Cape Prasum, wherever that was, is proved by the fact that he laid down the continent as making a sudden turn to the east just below his Mountains of the Moon at the sources of the Nile, and extending in that direction until it joined Asia beyond the Malay peninsula, thus making the Indian ocean, like the Mediterranean, an inland sea. From him therefore, great as was his merit in other respects, no knowledge concerning the Bantu can be derived beyond that which is here given.

From the time of Mohamed to that of Vasco da Gama the Arabs and Persians were the only traders on the Indian ocean, and they must have been well acquainted with the inhabitants of Eastern Africa even before they founded a chain of settlements from Magadoxo down to Sofala.* There may be Arabic documents in existence which would throw light upon the migrations of the tribes, but not much information is given by the authors of books in that language which have been translated and published in European speech. I have consulted the following, and give

* Indians were largely employed in this trade, but usually, if not always, in a subordinate capacity. Some of the vessels that plied between Hindostan and the African coast were exclusively manned by them, and much of the inland bartering was carried on through their agency. Mohamedan Indians had extensive privileges, and it is possible that some of these may have traded in Africa on their own account, but those who did not profess the creed of Islam were not permitted to do so.

here all that the several works contain upon the subject of this paper, in the exact words of the translators.

Abou-Zeyd-Hassan, a native of Syraf, a town on the Persian gulf, about the year 880 of our era wrote a book upon India and China from accounts given by travelling merchants, principally by one named Soleyman. A copy of this work, transcribed in 1199, was translated into French and published, with the Arabic original, in two small volumes at Paris in 1845. It is entitled *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine dans le IXe siècle de l'ère chretienne. Avec une traduction française par M. Reinaud, membre de l'Institut.* This book gives no information regarding the migration of the Bantu tribes, but it pictures them more than a thousand years ago as at war with each other, as subsisting chiefly on millet, as listening attentively to exhortations to abide by ancestral customs made by seers clothed in leopard and monkey skins, as bringing for sale the skins of spotted and striped carnivora, then highly valued in eastern countries, and as acknowledging the superiority of the Arabs. These are the words of the book :—

"PAYS DES ZENDJ.

"Le pays des Zendj est vaste. Les plantes qui y croissent, telles que le *dorra*, qui est la base de leur nourriture, la canne à sucre et les autres plantes, y sont d'une couleur noire. Les Zendj ont plusieurs rois en guerre les uns avec les autres ; les rois ont à leur service des hommes connus sous le titre de *almokhazzamoun* (ceux qui ont la narine percée), parce qu'on leur a percé le nez. Un anneau a été passé dans leur narine, et à l'anneau sont attachées des chaînes. En temps de guerre, ces hommes marchent à la tête des combattants ; il y a pour chacun d'eux quelqu'un qui prend le bout de la chaîne et qui la tire, en empêchant l'homme d'aller en avant. Des négociateurs s'entremettent auprès des deux partis ; si l'on s'accorde pour un arrangement, on se retire ; sinon, la chaîne est roulée autour du cou du guerrier ; le guerrier est laissé à lui-même ; personne ne quitte sa place, tous se font tuer à leur poste. Les Arabes exercent un grand ascendant sur ce peuple ; quand un homme de cette nation aperçoit un Arabe, il se prosterne devant lui et dit : 'Voilà un homme du pays qui produit la datte ;' tant cette nation aime la datte, et tant les cœurs sont frappés.

"Des discours religieux sont prononcés devant ce peuple ; on ne trouverait chez aucune nation des prédicateurs aussi constants que le sont ceux de ce peuple dans sa langue. Dans ce pays, il y a des hommes, adonnés à la vie dévote, qui se couvrent de peaux de panthères ou de peaux de singes ; ils ont un bâton à la main, et s'avancent vers les habitations ; les habitants se réunissent aussitôt : le dévot reste quelquefois tout un jour jusqu'au soir, sur ses jambes, occupé à les prêcher et à les rappeler au souvenir de Dieu, qu'il soit exalté ! Il leur expose le sort qui a été éprouvé par ceux de leur nation qui sont morts. On exporte de ces pays les panthères zendjyennes, dont la peau, mêlée de rouge et de blanc, est très-grande et très-large."

Abi l'Cassem Abdallah Ebn Haukal, a native of Khorasan, wrote an account of the world as known to him between the years of our era 902 and 968, probably completed about A.D. 950. The original Arabic was translated into Persian, and it is from the latter text that the edition in English has been obtained. This was published in a quarto volume in London in 1800, and is entitled: *The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, an Arabian Traveller of the Tenth Century. Translated from a Manuscript in his own Possession, collated with one preserved in the Library of Eton College, by Sir William Ouseley, Knt., LL.D.*

Possibly the reason why the Mohamedan writers give so little information upon the Bantu was not their ignorance, but their scorn. Ebn Haukal, at any rate, asserts this to be the case with him. He says: "As for the land of blacks, in the west (Africa), and the Zingians, Æthiopians, and such tribes, I make but slight mention of them in this book; because, naturally loving wisdom, ingenuity, religion, justice, and regular government, how could I notice such people as those, or exalt them by inserting an account of their countries?" And all he says of Eastern Africa is the following:—

"Between *Yajouge* and Majouge, and the northern ocean, and between the deserts of the Blacks and the other limits of the ocean, all is desolate and waste, without any buildings. I know not what are the roads or stages of those two deserts which are on the coasts of the ocean, because it is impossible to travel in them on account of the excessive heat, which hinders the building of houses, or the residing there. Thus, also, in the south, no animal can exist, so excessive is the heat, nor any person dwell there."

"On the sea-coast there is a place called Zeilaa, which is the port for those who go to Yemen and Hejaz. Then begin the deserts of Nubia. The Nubians are Christians; and their country is wider than that of the Abyssinians; and the Ægyptian Nile passes through their territories, and goes on to the land of the Zingians (Æthiopia); and one cannot proceed beyond that.

"The sea continues to the land of Zingbar, Æthiopia, opposite Aden: thence it departs from the regions of Islam. Æthiopia is a dry country, with few buildings, and very little cultivated ground. The leopard skins, and other spotted skins which are brought into *Yemen*, come from this place. The inhabitants are at war with the Mussulmans. There is in *Zingbar* a race of white people, who bring from other places articles of food and clothing. This country produces little: the inhabitants are not much inclined to the cultivation of arts and sciences.

"So far we have spoken of those countries bordering on the Persian Sea: now we proceed to describe the regions of the West."

The greatest of the Arab geographers was Abou Abdallah Mohammed *el Edrisi*, a native of Spain, who lived from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1154, and who wrote his valuable book under the patronage of Roger, Christian king

of Sicily, the most enlightened monarch of his age. There is a translation into French of part of this work by R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, published at Leyden in 1866, but it does not contain the sections relating to Eastern Africa. The complete work, however, exists in French in two quarto volumes, in which the translation—the original Arabic text is not given—occupies one thousand and fifty-one pages. These volumes were published at Paris in 1836 and 1840, at the expense of the French government, and are entitled *Géographie d'Édrisi traduite de l'Arabe en Français d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèke du Roi, et accompagnée de Notes, par P. Amédée Jaubert, Professeur de Turk a l'école royale et spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, etc., etc., etc.*

Edrisi followed Ptolemy in the belief that Africa stretched away to the east, but of that part he professed to know nothing. What he did know and relate, as of the exportation of iron, of the abundance of gold obtained at Sofala, of the Bantu using copper ornaments in preference to gold, and, above all, of Bushmen alone occupying the country beyond Sofala, is of high interest. His words, as given by the translator, are :—

PREMIER CLIMAT.—SEPTIÈME SECTION.

Cette section comprend la description d'une partie de la mer des Indes et de la totalité des îles qui s'y trouvent, et qui sont habitées par des peuples de races diverses. Au midi des pays compris dans cette section sont le restant de la région des Cafres noirs, et divers pays voisins de la mer ; notre intention est de décrire toutes ces choses avec clarté. "Nous disons donc que cette mer est la mer des Indes," et que sur son rivage est située la ville de Merouat, a l'extrémité du pays des Cafres, peuples sans foi qui n'adorent que des pierres enduites d'huile de poisson. "Tel est le dégré de stupidité où sont tombés ces peuples, et l'absurdité de leurs infâmes croyances. Une partie de ce pays obéit au roi des Berbers, et l'autre dépend de l'Abyssinie." De Merouat, située sur la côte, à Medouna,* on compte 3 journées par mer. "Cette dernière ville est ruinée, presque déserte, sale et désagréable à habiter. Ses habitants vivent de poissons, de coquillages, de grenouilles, de serpents, de rats, de lézards et d'autres reptiles dégoûtants. Ces peuples se livrent à l'exercice de la pêche maritime sans embarcations, et sans se tenir constamment sur le rivage. Ils pêchent à la nage (ou en plongeant) avec de petits filets tissus d'herbes, et fabriqués par eux. Ils attachent ces filets à leurs pieds ; au moyen de liens et de nœuds coulants qu'ils tiennent avec les mains, ils resserrent le filet aussitôt qu'ils sentent que le poisson y est entré, et cela avec un art dans lequel ils excellent, et avec des ruses dont ils ont une longue expérience. Pour attirer le poisson, ils se servent de reptiles terrestres. Bien qu'ils vivent dans un état de détresse et de

* Le manuscrit n° 334 porte Beroua et Nedouba. Le ms. B Berouat et Bedouna.

misère profondes, cependant ces peuples (Dieu aime ceux qui résident dans leurs foyers domestiques) sont satisfaits de leur sort, et se contentent de ce qu'ils ont. Ils obéissent au gouvernement du Zendj."

On va de cette ville (Medouna) en suivant la côte, à Melinde, ville du Zendj, en trois jours et trois nuits par mer. Melinde est située sur le bord de la mer, à l'embouchure d'une rivière d'eau douce. "C'est une grande ville dont les habitants se livrent à la chasse et à la pêche. Sur terre ils chassent le tigre et d'autres animaux féroces. Ils tirent de la mer diverses espèces de poissons qu'ils salent, et dont ils font commerce." Ils possèdent et exploitent des mines de fer, et c'est pour eux un objet de commerce et la source de leurs plus grands bénéfices. Ils prétendent connaître l'art d'enchanter les serpents les plus venimeux, au point de les rendre sans danger pour tout le monde, excepté pour ceux à qui ils souhaitent du mal, "ou contre lesquels ils veulent exercer quelque vengeance. Ils prétendent aussi qu'au moyen de ces enchantements, les tigres et les lions ne peuvent leur nuire. Ces enchanteurs portent dans la langue de ces peuples le nom d'el-Mocnefa." De cette ville à Manisa, sur la côte, 2 journées. Celle-ci est petite et dépend du Zendj. Ses habitants s'occupent de l'exploitation des mines de fer et de la chasse aux tigres. Ils ont des chiens de couleur rouge qui combattent et vainquent toute espèce de bêtes féroces et même les lions. Cette ville est située sur le bord de la mer, et près d'un grand golfe que les navires remontent durant un espace de deux journées, "et sur les rives duquel il n'existe point d'habitations, à cause des bêtes féroces qui y vivent dans des forêts, où les Zendjes vont les poursuivre, ainsi que nous venons de le rapporter. C'est dans cette ville que réside le roi du Zenghebar. Ses gardes vont à pied, parce qu'il n'y a point dans ce pays de montures ; elles ne sauraient y vivre." De Manisa au bourg d'el-Banès par terre, 6 journées, et par mer, 150 milles. El-Banès est un bourg très-grand et très-peuplé. "Les habitants adorent un tambour nommé errahim, aussi grand que . . ., couvert de peau d'un seul côté, et auquel est suspendue une corde au moyen de laquelle on frappe le tambour. Il en résulte un bruit effroyable qui se fait entendre à trois milles de distance ou environ."

El-Banès est la dernière dépendance du Zendj ; elle touche au Sofala, pays de l'or. D'el-Banès à la côte de la ville nommée Tohnet, par mer, 150 milles, et par terre, 8 journées, attendu que dans l'intervalle il existe un grand golfe qui, s'étendant vers le midi, oblige les voyageurs à se détourner du droit chemin, et une haute montagne nommée Adjoud, dont les flancs ont été creusés de tous côtés par les eaux qui tombent avec un bruit épouvantable. Cette montagne attire à elle les vaisseaux qui s'en approchent, et les navigateurs ont soin de s'en écarter et de la fuir.

"La ville de Tohnet dépend aussi du pays de Sofala, et touche à celui des Zendjes. Il y a beaucoup de villages, et ils sont tous placés sur le

bord des rivières. Dans tout le Zendj, les principales productions sont le fer et les peaux de tigres du Zenghebar. La couleur de ces peaux tire sur le rouge, et elles sont très-souples. Comme il n'existe pas de bêtes de somme chez ces peuples, ils sont obligés de porter sur leurs têtes et sur leurs dos les objets destinés pour les deux villes de Melinde et de Molbasa, où se font les ventes et les achats. Les Zendjes n'ont point de navires dans lesquels ils puissent voyager ; mais il aborde chez eux des bâtiments du pays d'Oman et autres, destinés pour les îles de Zaledj, qui dépendent des Indes ; ces étrangers vendent (au Zenghebar) leurs marchandises, et achètent les productions du pays. Les habitants des îles de Raledj vont au Zenghebar dans de grands et de petits navires, et ils s'en servent pour le commerce de leurs marchandises, attendu qu'ils comprennent le langage les uns des autres. Les Zendjes ont au fond du cœur un grand respect et beaucoup de vénération pour les Arabes. C'est pour cela que, lorsqu'ils voient un Arabe, soit voyageur, soit négociant, ils se prosternent devant lui, exaltent sa dignité, et lui disent dans leur langue : Soyez le bien-venu, ô fils de l'Iémen ! Les voyageurs qui vont dans ce pays dérobent les enfants, et les trompent au moyen des fruits (litt. des dattes) qu'ils leur donnent. Ils les emmènent çà et là, et finissent par s'emparer de leurs personnes, et par les transporter dans leur propre pays ; car les habitants du Zenghebar forment une population nombreuse, et manquent de ressources. Le prince de l'île de Keich, située dans la mer d'Oman, entreprend avec ses vaisseaux des expéditions militaires contre le Zendj, et y fait beaucoup de captifs."

En face des rivages du Zendj sont les îles de Zaledj ; elles sont nombreuses et vastes × × × × × × ×

HUITIÈME SECTION.

Cette section comprend la description du restant du pays de Sofala.

On y trouve (d'abord) deux villes ou plutôt deux bourgs, entre lesquels sont des villages et des lieux de campement semblables à ceux des Arabes. Ces bourgs se nomment Djentama et Dendema. Ils sont situés sur les bords de la mer, et peu considérables. " Les habitants sont pauvres, misérables, et n'ont d'autre ressource pour vivre que le fer ; en effet, il existe un grand nombre de mines de ce métal dans les montagnes du Sofala. Les habitants des îles de Zanedj et des autres îles environnantes viennent chercher ici du fer pour le transporter sur le continent et dans les îles de l'Inde, où ils le vendent à un bon prix, car c'est un objet de grand commerce et de grande consommation dans l'Inde ; et, bien qu'il en existe dans les îles et dans les mines de ce pays, cependant il n'égale pas le fer du Sofala, tant sous le rapport de l'abondance que sous celui de la bonté et de la malléabilité. Les Indiens excellent dans l'art de le fabriquer, dans celui de préparer le mélange des substances au moyen desquelles, par la fusion, on obtient le fer doux qu'on a coutume de désigner sous le nom de fer de l'Inde. Ils ont

des manufactures où l'on fabrique les sabres les plus estimés de l'univers ; c'est ainsi que les fers du Sind, de Serendib et de l'Iémen, rivalisent entre eux sous le rapport de la qualité résultant de l'atmosphère locale, aussi bien que sous celui de l'art de la fabrication, de la fonte, de la forge, de la beauté du poli et de l'éclat ; mais il est impossible de trouver rien de plus tranchant que le fer de l'Inde. C'est une chose universellement reconnue, et que personne ne peut nier.

De Djentama à Dendema, on compte par mer 2 journées ; par terre 7 journées.

Dendema est une des principales villes du Sofala ; trois autres touchent au territoire de ce pays. L'une delles est Siouna, ville de médiocre grandeur, dont la population se compose d'Indiens, de Zendjes et autres. Elle est située sur un golfe où les vaisseaux étrangers viennent mouiller. De Siouna à Boukha, sur le rivage de la mer, 3 journées ; de là même à Dendema du Sofala vers l'ouest, par mer 3 journées, et par terre, environ 20 journées, parce qu'il y a, dans l'intervalle, un grand golfe qui s'étend vers le midi, et qui oblige à un détour considérable. De Boukha à Djentama par mer 1 journée, par terre 4 journées. Dans tout le pays de Sofala, on trouve de l'or en abondance, et d'excellente qualité. "Cependant les habitants préfèrent le cuivre, et ils font leurs ornements avec ce dernier métal. L'or qu'on trouve dans le territoire de Sofala surpasse en quantité comme en grosseur celui des autres pays, puisqu'on en rencontre des morceaux d'un ou de deux mithcal, plus ou moins, et quelquefois même d'un rotl. On le fait fondre dans le désert au moyen d'un feu alimenté par de la fiente de vache, sans qu'il soit nécessaire de recourir, pour cette opération, au mercure, ainsi que la chose a lieu dans l'Afrique occidentale ; car les habitants de ce dernier pays réunissent leurs fragments d'or, les mêlent avec du mercure, mettent le mélange en fusion au moyen du feu de charbon, en sorte que le mercure s'évapore, et qu'il ne reste que le corps de l'or fondu et pur. L'or de Sofala n'exige pas l'emploi de ce procédé, mais on le fond sans aucun artifice qui l'altère. Nous terminerons ci-après ce que nous avons à dire de ce pays, s'il plaît à Dieu." × × × × ×

NEUVIÈME SECTION.

Cette section comprend la description de la partie de la mer des Indes connue sous le nom de mer de la Chine, et d'une partie de la mer nommée Darlazouï. Dans cette mer sont diverses îles dont nous ferons mention ci-après.

Nous disons donc qu'au midi de cette mer est une partie du Sofala (dont nous avons déjà parlé), et qu'au nombre des lieux habités de ce pays est la ville de Djesta, peu considérable. "On y trouve de l'or en quantité ; son exploitation est la seule industrie et la principale ressource des habitants. Ils mangent des tortues marines et des coquillages. Le dourah est peu abondant parmi eux." Cette ville est située sur un grand golfe où peuvent entrer les navires. "Les habitants de Djebesta

n'ayant ni navires ni bêtes de somme pour porter leurs fardeaux, sont obligés de les porter eux-mêmes, et de se rendre service réciproquement. Ceux de Comor et les marchands du pays de Mehradj viennent chez eux, en sont bien accueillis, et trafiquent avec eux." De la ville de Djebesta à celle de Daghouta 3 jours et 3 nuits par mer ; et à l'île de Comor, 1 jour.

La ville de Daghouta est la dernière du Sofala, pays de l'or ; elle est située sur un grand golfe. "Ses habitants vont nus ; cependant ils cachent avec leurs mains (leurs parties sexuelles), à l'approche des marchands qui viennent chez eux des autres îles voisines. Leurs femmes ont de la pudeur, et ne se montrent ni dans les marchés, ni dans les lieux de réunion, à cause de leur nudité ; c'est pourquoi elles restent fixées dans leurs demeures. On trouve de l'or dans cette ville et dans son territoire, plus que partout ailleurs dans le Sofala. "Ce pays touche à celui de Wacwac, où sont deux villes "misérables et mal peuplées, à cause de la rareté des subsistances et du peu de ressources en tout genre." L'une se nomme Derou, et l'autre Nebhena. Dans son voisinage est un grand bourg nommé Da'rgha. Les naturels sont noirs, de figure hideuse, de complexion difforme ; leur langage est une espèce de sifflement. Ils sont absolument nus et sont peu visités (par les étrangers). Ils vivent de poissons, de coquillages et de tortues." Ils sont (comme il vient d'être dit), voisins de l'île de Wacwac "dont nous reparlerons, s'il plaît à Dieu. Chacun de ces pays et de ces îles est situé sur un grand golfe. On n'y trouve ni or, ni commerce, ni navire, ni bêtes de somme. Quant à l'île de Djalous, ses habitants sont Zendjes, ils vont nus, et vivent, comme nous l'avons dit, de ce qui leur tombe entre les mains. × × × × ×

DIXIÈME SECTION.

× × × × × Dans la partie des îles de Wacwac, voisine de celle-ci, sont des lieux coupés d'îlots et de montagnes, inaccessibles aux voyageurs, à cause de l'extrême difficulté des communications. Les habitants sont des infidèles qui ne connaissent de religion, et qui n'ont point reçu de loi. Les femmes vont tête nue, portant seulement des peignes d'ivoire ornés (litt. couronnés) de nacre. Une seule femme porte quelquefois jusqu'à vingt de ces peignes. Les hommes se couvrent la tête d'une coiffure qui ressemble à ce que nous appelons alcaanès, et qui s'appelle en langue indienne el-bouhari. Ils restent fortifiés dans leurs montagnes sans en sortir et sans permettre qu'on vienne les visiter ; cependant ils montent sur les hauteurs, le long du rivage, pour regarder les bâtiments, et quelquefois ils leur adressent la parole dans une langue inintelligible. Telle est constamment leur manière d'être. Auprès de ce pays est l'isle de Wacwac, au delà de laquelle on ignore ce qui existe.

The geographer known in Europe as Aboulfeda was born at Damascus in the year of the hegira 672, or A.D. 1273, and died at Hamat in October

1331. The name given to him when he was circumcised was Ismaël, and on arriving at the age of manhood he took the surname Emad-eddin. He became prince of Hamat, when the sultan of Egypt gave him the title Almalek-almovayyad, so that Aboulfeda is only a nickname. He travelled through Egypt, Northern Arabia, Syria, and the territory eastward to the Euphrates, but the information he gives upon other countries consists of quotations from earlier authors. His work was translated into French, and was published at Paris in two quarto volumes in 1848 at the expense of the government. The translation is entitled *Géographie d'Aboulféda traduite de l'Arabe en Français et accompagnée de Notes et d'Eclaircissements par M. Reinaud, membre de l'Institut de France, Professor d'Arabe, etc.* Upon South Eastern Africa the only information given in this work is the following quotation from Ibn-Sayd :—

"Melende est une ville du pays des Zendjs, sous le 81° degré et demi de longitude, et le 2° degré 50 minutes de latitude (méridionale). A l'occident de cette ville, est un grand golfe où se jette un fleuve qui descend de la montagne de Comr. Sur les bords de ce golfe sont de vastes habitations appartenant aux Zendjs ; les habitations des peuples de Comr se trouvent au midi. A l'est de Melende est Alkherany, nom d'une montagne très-fameuse chez les voyageurs ; cette montagne s'avance dans la mer, à la distance d'environ cent milles, dans la direction du nord-est ; en même temps elle se prolonge sur le continent, en droite ligne, dans la direction du midi, à la distance d'environ cinquante milles. Entre autres singularités qu'offre cette montagne se trouve celle-ci : la partie qui est sur le continent renferme une mine de fer, et celle qui est dans la mer, une mine d'aimant qui attire le fer. On trouve à Melende, l'arbre du zendj. Le roi des Zendjs réside dans la ville de Monbase. Entre Monbase et Melende, il y a environ un degré. Monbase se trouve sur les bords de la mer. A l'occident, est un golfe où les bâtiments entrent, à la profondeur d'environ trois cents milles. Dans le voisinage, du côté de l'est, se trouve le désert qui sépare le pays des Zendjs de celui de Sofala.

"Au nombre des villes du pays de Sofala, est Batyna, située à l'extrémité d'un grand golfe qui entre dans les terres, à partir de la ligne équinoxiale, sous le 2° degré et demi de latitude, et le 87° degré de longitude." D'après Ibn-Sayd, "à l'ouest de Batyna, se trouve Adjred, nom d'une montagne qui se prolonge dans la mer, vers le nord-est, jusqu'à une distance de cent milles ; les vagues que la mer forme en cet endroit font un grand fracas. A l'est de cette montagne sont les habitations du peuple de Sofala, dont la capitale se nomme Seyouna, sous le 99° degré de longitude, et le 2° degré et demi de latitude (méridionale). Cette ville est située sur un grand golfe, où se jette une rivière qui descend de la montagne de Comr. C'est là que réside le roi de Sofala. De là, on arrive à la ville de Leyrana. Ibn-Fathima, qui a visité cette ville, dit que c'est un lieu où abordent et d'où mettent à la voile les navires. Les habitants professent

l'islamisme. La longitude de Leyrana est de cent deux degrés, et sa latitude d'environ trente minutes ; elle est située sur un grand golfe. La ville de Daghouta est la dernière du pays de Sofala, et la plus avancée de la partie habitée du continent (du côté du midi). Sa longitude est de cent neuf degrés, et sa latitude de douze degrés (au midi de l'équateur)."

Sofala. D'après le Canoun, 50e degré 3 minutes de longitude et 2e degré de latitude, au midi de la ligne équinoxiale. La situation de Sofala est dans le pays des Zendjs. Suivant l'auteur du *Canoun*, les hommes qui l'habitent sont musulmans. Ibn-Sayd dit que leurs principaux moyens d'existence reposent sur l'extraction de l'or et du fer, et que leurs vêtements sont en peaux de léopard. Au rapport de Massoudi, les chevaux ne se perpétuent pas dans le pays des Zendjs, de manière que les guerriers marchent tous à pied, ou combattent sur des bœufs. Je ferai observer que Sofala est aussi un pays de l'Inde.

Abou Abdallah Mohammed, commonly known as Ibn Batuta, a native of Tangier, born in February 1304, travelled over the known world from the Atlantic coast to China during the twenty-four years from A.D. 1325 to 1349, and from A.D. 1351 to 1354 he was engaged in exploring the Soudan. He went down the East African coast as far as Kilwa. His account of the countries he visited was translated into French, and was published in four octavo volumes at Paris by the Asiatic Society in 1853 to 1858. It is entitled *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah, texte Arabe, accompagné d'une Traduction par C. Defrémery et le Dr. B. R. Sanguinetti.* All that is related of Eastern Africa is the following :—

Je m'embarquai sur la mer dans la ville de Makdachaou, me dirigeant vers le pays des Saouâhil (les rivages) et la ville de Couloua (Quiloa), dans le pays des Zendjs. Nous arrivâmes à Manbaça, grande île, à une distance de deux journées de navigation de la terre des Saouâhil. Cette île ne possède aucune dépendance sur le continent, et ses arbres sont des bananiers, des limoniers et des citronniers. Ses habitants recueillent aussi un fruit qu'ils appellent *djammoûn* (djambou, *Eugenia Jambu*), et qui ressemble à l'olive ; il a un noyau pareil à celui de l'olive, mais le goût de ce fruit est d'une extrême douceur. Ils ne se livrent pas à la culture, et on leur apporte des grains des Saouâhil. La majeure partie de leur nourriture consiste en bananes et en poisson. Ils professent la doctrine de Châfi'y, sont pieux, chastes et vertueux ; leurs mosquées sont construites très-solidement en bois. Près de chaque porte de ces mosquées se trouvent un ou deux puits, de la profondeur d'une ou deux coudées ; on y puise l'eau avec une écuelle de bois, à laquelle est fixé un bâton mince, de la longueur d'une coudée. La terre, à l'entour de la mosquée et du puits, est tout unie. Quiconque veut entrer dans la mosquée, commence par se laver les pieds ; il y a près de la porte un morceau de natte très-grossier, avec lequel il les essuie. Celui qui désire faire les lotions, tient la coupe entre ses cuisses,

verse l'eau sur ses mains, et fait son ablution. Tout le monde ici marche nu-pieds.

Nous passâmes une nuit dans cette île ; après quoi nous reprîmes la mer pour nous rendre à Couloua, grande ville située sur le littoral, et dont les habitants sont pour la plupart des Zendjs, d'un teint extrêmement noir. Ils ont à la figure des incisions, semblables à celles qu'ont les Lîmiîn de Djenâdah. Un marchand m'a dit que la ville de Sofâlah est située à la distance d'un demi-mois de marche de Couloua, et qu'entre Sofâlah et Yoûfi (Noufi), dans le pays des Lîmiîn, il y a un mois de marche. De Yoûfi, on apporte à Sofalâh de la poudre d'or. Couloua est au nombre des villes les plus belles et les mieux construites ; elle est entièrement bâtie en bois ; la toiture de ses maisons est en dîs (sorte de jonc, *ampelodesmos tenax*), et les pluies y sont abondantes. Ses habitants sont adonnés au *djihâd* (la guerre sainte), car ils occupent un pays contigu à celui des Zendjs infidèles. Leurs qualités dominantes sont la piété et la dévotion, et ils professent la doctrine de Châfi'y.

Du Sultan de Couloua.

Lorsque j'entrai dans cette ville, elle avait pour sultan Abou'lmozhaffer Haçan, surnommé également Abou'lmewâhib, à cause de la multitude de ses dons (*mewâhib*) et de ses actes de générosité. Il faisait de fréquentes incursions dans le pays des Zendjs, les attaquait et leur enlevait du butin, dont il prélevait la cinquième partie, qu'il dépensait de la manière fixée dans le Coran. Il déposait la part des proches du Prophète dans une caisse séparée, et lorsque des cherîfs venaient le trouver, il la leur remettait. Ceux-ci se rendaient près de lui de l'Irâk, du Hidjâz et d'autres contrées. J'en ai trouvé à sa cour plusieurs du Hidjaz, parmi lesquels Mohammed, fils de Djammâz ; Mansoûr, fils de Lebidah, fils d'Abou Nemy, et Mohammed, fils de Chomaïlah, fils d'Abou Nemy. J'ai vu à Makdachaou Tabl, fils de Cobaïch, fils de Djammâz, qui voulait aussi se rendre près de lui. Ce sultan est extrêmement humble, il s'assied et mange avec les fakîrs, et vénère les hommes pieux et nobles.

Récit d'une de ses actions généreuses.

Je me trouvais près de lui un vendredi, au moment où il venait de sortir de la prière, pour retourner à sa maison. Un fakîr du Yaman se présenta devant lui, et lui dit : "Ô Abou'lmewâhib !" "Me voici," répondit-il, "ô fakîr ! quel est ton besoin ?" "Donne-moi ces vêtements qui te couvrent." "Très-bien, je te les donnerai." "Sur l'heure." "Oui, certes, à l'instant." Il retourna à la mosquée, entra dans la maison du prédicateur, ôta ses vêtements, en prit d'autres, et dit au fakîr : "Entre, et prends-les." Le fakîr entra, les prit, les lia dans une serviette, les plaça sur sa tête, et s'en retourna. Les assistants comblèrent le sultan d'actions de grâces, à cause de l'humilité et de la générosité qu'il avait montrées. Son fils et successeur désigné reprit cet habit au fakîr, et lui

donna en échange dix esclaves. Le sultan ayant appris combien ses sujets louaient son action, ordonna de remettre au fakîr dix autres esclaves et deux charges d'ivoire ; car la majeure partie des présents, dans ce pays, consiste en ivoire, et l'on donne rarement de l'or.

Lorsque ce sultan vertueux et libéral fut mort, son frère Dâoûd devint roi, et tint une conduite tout opposée. Quand un pauvre venait le trouver, il lui disait : "Celui qui donnait est mort, et n'a rien laissé à donner." Les visiteurs séjournaient à sa cour un grand nombre de mois, et seulement alors il leur donnait très-peu de chose ; si bien qu'aucun individu ne vint plus le trouver.

Nous nous embarquâmes à Couloua pour la ville de Zhafâr × × × × ×

The work of Hassan el Ouazzan ibn Mohammed, of Grenada, born about 1491, who was named John Leo Africanus by Pope Leo X when he professed to abandon the creed of Islam, being written after the entrance of the Portuguese into the Indian sea, need not be referred to here beyond giving the title of the French edition, which is *Description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du Monde, escrite par Jean Leon African premièrement en langue Arabesque, puis en Toscane et à present mise en Français.* The new edition, with notes by Ch. Schefer, is in three quarto volumes, and was published at Paris in 1896, 1897, and 1898.

INCREASE OF THE BANTU IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 1839 AND 1889.

THE very rapid increase of the Bantu population of South Africa during recent years has attracted general attention, and is continually being brought in the most forcible way to the notice of the different governments by the demand for more ground on which to live. A comparison between the number of people of that race south of the Limpopo half a century ago and to-day is somewhat startling, for it reveals the fact that the increase by natural means is without parallel elsewhere. There are spots on South African soil, for instance the sites of old kraals which are now farms, where there are fewer Bantu in 1889 than in 1839; but there is not a single district of any size in which this is the case.

Commencing at the Sunday river, the territory stretching to the Kei contains more Kaffirs and Fingos now than it did then, notwithstanding three wars with Europeans, the fearful loss of life through the destruction of their property by the Amaxosa in 1857, the migration of swarms to the Transkeian districts, and the effects of drunkenness.

Between the Kei and the Umzimvubu the people of the different tribes have certainly much more than doubled in number during that period, though internecine war was constantly being carried on in one part or another until very recently.

In 1839 the highest estimate of the Bantu population between the Umzimvubu and the Tugela, —including the greater part of the present colony of Natal, Eastern Pondoland, and a large portion of Griqualand East,—was under ten thousand souls. In 1889 there are nearly a million of that race on the same ground.

North of the Tugela all is conjecture, but it is pretty certain that the number of souls is not less now than fifty years ago.

Passing over the mountains, in the eastern part of the present Orange Free State and Basutoland, the highest estimate in 1839 was 50,000. Notwithstanding all the wars with Europeans in that region, the number to-day is not short of 200,000.

In the South African Republic the contrast is almost as striking as in Natal, but in the northern part of that territory the increase is partly owing to immigration from tribes beyond the boundary.

Everywhere throughout the region stretching from the Limpopo river to the shores of the Indian ocean there has been a tendency on the part

of the Bantu population during this period to occupy the vacant places, just as water flows into cavities, and this tendency is still in full force. It may appear in some localities as if the numbers were stationary, but upon close inquiry it is found that they only appear so because swarms have periodically migrated to other grounds. The great uninhabited wastes that every traveller of half a century ago described are now teeming with human life. That the Bantu population in South Africa from the Limpopo to the sea has trebled itself by natural increase alone within fifty years is asserting what must be far below the real rate of growth.

Though no census of these people beyond an enumeration of small sections of them has ever been taken, statistics are not wanting to show how rapidly they are multiplying compared with the different branches of our own race.

The census of England and Wales in 1881 showed a population of 25,974,439 souls. Of these, 7,911,436 were males over 15 years of age, 8,594,412 were females over 15 years of age, and the remaining 9,468,591 were children of both sexes under 15 years of age. The females over 15 are considerably in excess of the males. The proportion of children under 15 to females over 15 is as 110·17 to 100.

The census of the Dominion of Canada in 1881 showed a population of 4,324,810 souls. Of these, 108,547 were native Indians, 21,394 were of African blood, and 4,383 were Chinese. No distinction was made in the age returns between these and the remaining inhabitants of European blood, but their numbers were too small to affect the matter now under notice. 1,348,387 were males over 15 years of age, 1,324,428 were females over 15 years of age, and 1,651,995 were children of both sexes under 15 years of age. The males over 15 are slightly in excess of the females. The proportion of children under 15 to females over 15 is as 124·73 to 100.

The census of the United States in 1880 showed a population of European descent of 43,402,970 souls. Of these, 13,544,412 were males over 15 years of age, 12,938,919 were females over 15 years of age, and 16,919,639 were children of both sexes under 15 years of age. The males over 15 are considerably in excess of the females. The proportion of children under 15 to females over 15 is as 130·76 to 100.

The Australasian group of colonies during the ten years preceding the census of 1881 presented more favourable opportunities than any other part of the world occupied by our race for an increase of population by natural means. The males were greatly in excess of the females; there were no wars, or famines, or pestilences; the colonies were blessed with agricultural, pastoral, and commercial prosperity; and the climate is salubrious to Europeans. Here, therefore, especially in temperate New Zealand, the highest rate of increase is to be found. The returns of the census of 1881 show as follows:—

European males over 15 *years of age.*

Victoria	273,195
New South Wales	249,891
South Australia	90,742
Queensland	72,600
Western Australia	11,167
Tasmania	37,932
New Zealand	159,794
	895,321

European females over 15 *years of age.*

Victoria	245,261
New South Wales	192,752
South Australia	76,249
Queensland	47,811
Western Australia	6,984
Tasmania	32,845
New Zealand	117,309
	719,211

Both sexes under 15 *years of age.*

Victoria	331,762
New South Wales	298,620
South Australia	108,723
Queensland	81,885
Western Australia	11,412
Tasmania	44,084
New Zealand	207,826
	1,084,312

Proportion of children under 15 *to females over* 15.

Victoria	135·26 to 100
New South Wales	154·92 to 100
South Australia	142·58 to 100
Queensland	171·26 to 100
Western Australia	163·40 to 100
Tasmania	134·21 to 100
New Zealand	177·16 to 100
Mean of all the Australasian colonies	150·76 to 100

(In the above calculations the Chinese residents are not included. They number, in Victoria 12,128, in New South Wales 10,205, in South Australia 4,151, in Queensland 11,229, in Western Australia 145, in Tasmania 844, and in New Zealand 5,004; altogether 43,706. The

aborigines of South Australia, 6,346 in number, of Queensland, 20,585, of Western Australia, 2,346, and of New Zealand, 44,097, altogether 73,374, have also been excluded. In Tasmania there are no aborigines. The aborigines of Victoria, 780 in number, and of New South Wales, 1,643, are included in the above calculations, because in the census returns of those colonies they are classified with Europeans in the tables of ages. The total population of all the Australasian colonies in 1881 was 2,815,924.)

Turning now to the census returns of the Cape Colony for 1875, the Bantu population is found to comprise 287,639 souls. Of these, 5,181 were returned without their ages being specified. Of the remainder, 78,963 were males over 15 years of age, 75,373 were females over 15 years of age, and 128,122 were children of both sexes under 15 years of age. The proportion of children under 15 to females over 15 is as 169·98 to 100.

But these figures, high as they are, can only be taken as representing the rate of increase of the Bantu under the least favourable circumstances. In the census returns an undue proportion of those who have adopted Christianity and European customs, nearly all of those who have attained the highest positions, as well as the whole of the degraded residents on the town locations and the great majority of the drunkards of the race, are included. It is certain that a census taken almost anywhere else in South-Eastern Africa would show a larger proportion of children under 15 to females over that age. On every occasion where clans in the territories occupied by Bantu have been accurately numbered,—as in the instances of their removal when they have been fed by the government,—this is found to be the case. In a considerable number of such cases the lowest proportion is 195 children to 100 females over 15.

In the United States the rapid increase of the negro population is causing much speculation as to what the future of the country will be. The census of 1880 showed a population of African blood of 6,580,793 souls, of Chinese of 105,613 souls, and of native Indians of 66,407 souls. These are all classed together in the age returns. There were 1,815,454 males over 15 years of age, 1,813,339 females over 15 years of age, and 3,124,020 children of both sexes under 15 years of age. The proportion of children to females over 15 is as 172·28 to 100.

Bringing these proportions together that they may be seen in one glance, the ratio is

England and Wales	110·17
Dominion of Canada	124·73
United States, European	130·76
Australasian colonies	150·76
Bantu under the least favourable circumstances	169·98
United States, Negro	172·28
Bantu under ordinary circumstances, probably	195·00

The next question to be considered is the average duration of life of the Bantu as compared with the European, but there are no statistics whatever upon which to base a calculation.

Early in 1885 a circular containing several questions having reference to this matter was issued by the native department of the Cape government to the officers in the territories occupied by Bantu, and copies were also supplied to the missionaries and leading traders with a request that they would kindly assist in the investigation. The returns sent in are voluminous, but the substance of them all when condensed is as follows :—

Question 1. To what cause or causes do you assign the great increase of the Bantu in number during recent years?

To this question the replies were almost uniform in language, and entirely uniform in effect: To the controlling power of the civilised governments.

While, except in that very small section of the people that has embraced Christianity, there is nothing to affect sensibly any of the causes that in former times tended to a rapid increase of population,—such as early marriages, polygamy which secures that no woman capable of childbearing shall remain single, constitutional vigour, freedom from heritable diseases, and absence of care and anxiety as to provision for children,—the ancient checks upon overgrowth have been removed.

(*a*) Tribal wars and feuds between clans, by which great numbers of people were formerly destroyed, have been prevented.

(*b*) The execution of people on charges of dealing in witchcraft has been suppressed.

(*c*) A better and surer supply of food than in ancient days is secured. The introduction of the plough has enabled the people to grow much more corn, and in seasons of drought they can procure food in return for labour or in exchange for property of any kind. The improved means of intercourse admits of food supplies being sent to any part of the country where there is a demand for them.

Question 2. Which race attains the greatest average age, the Bantu or the European? On what calculations do you base your reply?

To this question the answers from nearly all the old and experienced magistrates, missionaries, and traders were to the effect that the average life of the black man is longer than that of the European. This opinion is based upon

(*a*) The very large number of blacks still living who remember and took part in the battle of Amalinde in 1818, the flight of the Fingos from Natal in 1821 and 1822, the wars of Moselekatse and the depopulation of the present South African Republic and Orange Free State, 1821 to 1830, the defeat of the Amangwane in 1828, and other notable events of more than fifty years ago.

(*b*) A comparison of Bantu and Europeans known to be of the same age, when the former invariably has the appearance of being the younger

of the two. A black man of fifty does not look older than a European of forty.

(*c*) The general good health of the Bantu, in which prolonged observation shows that they greatly surpass Europeans.

(Four of the youngest magistrates abstained from giving a reply to this question, on the ground that they had made no observations and were without experience. Two other magistrates and one trader were of opinion that the average duration of life is about the same. One magistrate, one missionary, and two traders were of opinion that the European must live longer, because he is better fed and undergoes less exposure, while the black man is without those home comforts and solaces which civilisation and Christianity bring.)

Question 3. Are there any causes in operation tending to affect the future increase of the Bantu population? In the reply to this question, please state the effects of embracing Christianity, of drunkenness, of syphilis, &c., upon the birth rate of the people under your observation.

The answers are varied, and are all given merely as expressions of opinion.

Most of the writers consider that the present rate of increase cannot long be maintained, because the struggle for existence must become more intense with the pressure of population. The limit of food supply, both in flesh and in grain, which the country is capable of producing without such artificial aids as manuring and irrigating, must soon be reached. Then will come care and a necessity for forethought, which will prevent early marriages. Already in some localities there is a tendency to postpone the marriage of girls to a later age than formerly. Fingo girls especially, when in service with Europeans and earning wages for their fathers, are frequently allowed to remain unmarried until the age of twenty.

The effects of embracing Christianity are viewed in very different lights. Some of the missionaries are of opinion that the birth rate would be increased if the deplorable immorality of the uncivilised blacks should give place to purity of life. Others think that enforced monogamy coupled with virtuous habits would greatly decrease the number of children born. Many of the magistrates and traders refer to the increase of disease among the semi-civilised Bantu as an indication that the birth rate would probably be less if Christianity were generally adopted. This increase of disease is attributed to

(*a*) Less cleanly habits. The uncivilised black bathes frequently and then rubs grease and red clay over his body. His semi-civilised brother obtains a suit of European clothing, which he seldom washes. His shirt is not once removed from his body till it is worn out. Of course there are exceptions, but this is commonly the case.

(*b*) Exposure to wet. The greased black man takes no harm from being out in rain. His kaross is kept dry. The black man in European

clothing, owing to his improvidence, seldom has a change of garments, and when he has been drenched with rain usually sits by a fire to dry himself.

(*c*) The cares and anxieties which even semi-civilisation increases considerably.

(*d*) Less bodily exercise.

All the returns agree in the view that the unrestrained use of intoxicating liquors would not only diminish the birth rate, but speedily destroy the race. Barbarians are incapable of resisting the temptation to use spirituous liquor to excess when it is within easy reach. But as yet drunkenness has had no perceptible effect upon the birth rate among the people of the purely Bantu territories, because the sale of spirits has not been permitted by law, and the contraband trade has not been very great. It is in the colony proper that the destructive effects of drunkenness can be seen.

As to syphilis, different opinions are expressed. In the purely Bantu districts it is prevalent only among those persons who come into close contact with vagrant Europeans. One missionary states that it appears from observations he has made to be more easily eradicated from blacks than from Europeans. Two magistrates report that some of the Bantu herbalists appear to have remedies of their own and cure it easily. On the other hand, several missionaries regard it as a coming evil, the deleterious consequences of which must be widely felt, owing to the immoral habits of the uncivilised Bantu.

Question 4. What is the average age at which Bantu women are married?

The replies to this question are as varied as the tribes with which the writers are residing.

There is a general agreement that marriage may take place immediately after the ceremony which girls go through upon attaining the age of puberty, usually about thirteen, and that in all the tribes it does sometimes take place shortly after. But while with some tribes such early marriages are very frequent, with others they are very rare. The Betshuana and Basuto tribes are those in which early marriages are common. With some of these the average would be as low as fourteen, with others it would be fifteen. The Bantu girls along the coast as a rule are not married so early. In some of the tribes sixteen is the average age, while in others it would probably be as high as seventeen. There are mission stations on which it is as high as eighteen and even nineteen.

For the whole of the Bantu tribes south of the Limpopo the average would probably be between fifteen and sixteen; but this estimate can only be regarded as conjecture formed from such information as is available. The object which the father or guardian has in view in bringing about the marriage of girls before they are fully developed is variously stated to be

(*a*) To settle them respectably in life, for which purpose alliances are sought with influential families, the proposals being frequently made by the guardians of the females.

(*b*) To preserve the girls from loss of reputation, which delay in marriage would probably cause.

(*c*) To prevent capital from lying waste. A girl represents a certain number of cattle, the increase and milk of which take the place of interest on money invested.

(*d*) To perpetuate the customs of his forefathers, or in other words to do as everyone else in the circle of his acquaintance is doing and as his people have done as long as memory or tradition goes back.

(*e*) That his posterity may be numerous in the land.

Question 5. Can you give any information upon the relative number of births and deaths in places that are not affected by emigration or immigration?

The almost invariable replies to this query were either that owing to no records of births and deaths having been kept, or that owing to the roving habits and frequent change of residence of the Bantu, no reliable information could be given. Only five returns in all were sent in, representing five mission stations and small kraals, at which during certain stated periods the total number of births was 379 and the total number of deaths 125.

Question 6. What is the average number of children of women married (*a*) to monogamists, (*b*) to polygamists. In the reply to this query, please state the number of women from whom the calculations are made. The greater the number the better, but care must of course be taken not to include women who are still capable of childbearing. The only reliable plan will be to question the old women, and ascertain from each one exactly how many children she has given birth to, and how many wives her husband has had. If the husband was a monogamist, note whether Christianity had been embraced. The greatest possible accuracy is requisite to make the reply to this query of value.

To this question a good many carefully drawn up tables were sent in, particularly from some of the older magistrates and from several missionaries. One from Donald Strachan, Esq., merchant, of Umzimkulu, is especially valuable, from the great pains that has evidently been taken to obtain reliable information. Altogether these returns embrace 393 women, the wives or widows of monogamists, mostly professing Christians, and 591 women, the wives or widows of polygamists. In a few instances it is noted that the women may not yet have passed the age of childbearing. The 393 women, wives of monogamists, have borne 2,223 children, that is on an average 5·65 children. The 591 women, wives of polygamists, have borne 3,298 children, that is on an average 5·58 children to each woman. Thus monogamy in this respect makes a slightly appreciable difference in the birth rate. Christianised Bantu girls do not marry at as early an age as the others, but the interval

between the births of children in families who have embraced Christianity is usually shorter than with women in an uncivilised state, owing to a superstitious feeling of the latter which requires them to live in strict seclusion from intercourse with their husbands and lovers during the period of giving suck to their children, usually from two to three years.

But the death rate of the Christian Bantu is so much higher than that of the others that the balance is more than equalised. Some of the returns merely give the total number of children each woman named had given birth to, but others have been so carefully arranged as to give the sexes of the children born—showing that more boys than girls are brought into the world—and give the numbers living when the information was obtained and the numbers that had died. Of the children of polygamists 73 per cent were still living, while of the children of monogamists only 67 per cent were alive. The larger death rate among monogamists is explained by the fact that chest diseases have become not uncommon on mission stations, and that the children are perceptibly less robust, owing to their changed conditions of living.

The widows of polygamists continue to bear children as if their husbands were still living. In some instances a widow returns to her father or nearest male relative, and is remarried, when her children after the second marriage belong by law to her second husband. But in most instances she remains with her dead husband's relatives, because she cannot take his children away with her. In such cases either a brother of her dead husband takes her, or she has a male companion formally allotted to her, and she has her lover. All the children she gives birth to are under any of these circumstances considered as her dead husband's.

The number of women who have never borne children is less than three per cent of the whole; a few have borne ten and eleven each; but the great majority range from four to eight.

The numbers in these tables are too small for the averages here given to be considered more than approximately correct. To arrive at anything like accuracy, similar statistics must be collected for many years and by competent persons in all parts of the Bantu territories.

Question 7. Can you explain why decrepit, infirm, and half-breed children are not found among the Bantu?

The answers are to the effect that owing to the robust constitutions of the people very few decrepit children are born. In olden times such children were destroyed by filling their mouths with earth. Now they are commonly neglected, or it is given out that they get lost or that some accident has happened to them. In one way or other they generally disappear at a very early age. Still, a few are to be found, but always on mission stations or in places where European influence is prevalent. Albinos are met with occasionally, and they are suffered to live. As for half-breed children, they are seldom found except in places where the people have become semi-civilised, or where shipwrecked or renegade

white men have been living as adopted members of a clan. There is no disgrace to which a Bantu female is subject equal in the opinion of her people to that of giving birth to a half-breed child. Abortion or infanticide would be resorted to, if the customs of the tribe had not previously been partly abandoned and those of Europeans adopted. In this respect the Bantu are the very opposite of the Hottentots, whose females have no repugnance to intercourse with white men. Owing probably to intermarriages with near relatives many idiotic children are born among the branches of the Basuto.

Question 8. Have you observed what effect great difference of age between man and wife has upon the number of children among the Bantu.

The replies are uniform that it has no effect whatever. Men do not marry women older than themselves. Old men very frequently marry girls, but nearly every uncivilised black woman has a lover as well as a husband. This fact cannot be left out of consideration when studying the effect of polygamous marriages. It is taken as a matter of course that a woman married to a polygamist, unless he be a chief of very high rank, will form a connection with some other man. She does not sink in the slightest degree in the estimation of other women by so doing. The offence is punishable by Bantu law, the lover being subject to a fine and the woman to chastisement by her husband, but in most instances it passes unnoticed as an ancient custom of the people.

CAPETOWN, *December* 1889.

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Baines, Thomas, artist and explorer: is for some time engaged as an agent for a gold mining company, 249; on the 8th of May 1875 dies at Durban, 250
Bamangwato tribe: history of the, 251 to 253
Barkly, Sir Henry: on the 31st of December 1870 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as governor of the Cape Colony and her Majesty's high commissioner, 325; proceeds on a tour of inquiry, and on the 26th of February arrives at Klipdrift, where he has a conference with President Pretorius, Nicholas Waterboer, and various Barolong and Batlapin chiefs, 385; arranges for the disputes between them to be submitted to a court of arbitration, ib.; obtains the consent of President Pretorius to a joint government of the diamond-fields on the northern bank of the Vaal until the decision of the court of arbitration is made known, ib.; in March 1871 visits Bloemfontein, and endeavours, but in vain, to induce the Free State government to come to an arrangement concerning the diamond-fields south of the Vaal similar to that made with President Pretorius, 404; as the Free State government calls out a commando to support its courts of law, orders the colonial police to assemble at Hopetown, sends a troop to Klipdrift, and announces that he will protect her Majesty's subjects from all interference by the Free State authorities, 405; rejects the proposal of the Free State government to submit to the head of a foreign country its right to territory transferred to it by Sir George Clerk, 406; on the 16th of March 1871 has a conference with Letsie and other Basuto chiefs at Maseru, 325; the chiefs profess to be thoroughly loyal, and the governor credits their statements, ib.; by instructions from the secretary of state, in May 1871 submits to the Cape parliament a bill for the annexation of the Lesuto, 326; which is passed by both houses in August, and is carried into effect, 328; endeavours to obtain the consent of the Cape parliament to the annexation of the diamond-fields, 409; but does not succeed in the attempt, 412; gets a resolution carried authorising him to maintain order among the

diggers and collect revenue pending the adjustment of the boundary disputes, 413; upon the repudiation of the Keate award by the government of the South African Republic, announces that he will maintain it, 395; on the 27th of October 1871 issues a series of proclamations declaring the whole of the territory claimed by Mr. Arnot for Nicholas Waterboer, and containing the principal diamond-fields, part of the British dominions, and providing for its government, 414

Barry, Advocate J. D.: in October 1871 is appointed recorder of Griqualand West, 415

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Basutoland, or the Lesuto: as contained within the boundaries defined by Major Warden and confirmed by Sir Harry Smith, including also subsequent conquests of Moshesh, on the abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 is left independent of all extraneous control, 1; receives a large addition of territory by the first treaty of Aliwal North, after the war of 1858 with the Orange Free State, 74; loses a much larger extent of territory by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, after the war of 1865-6 with the Orange Free State, 209; in March 1868 becomes part of the British dominions, 287; in February 1869 recovers a portion of its old territory by the second treaty of Aliwal North, 306; in August 1871 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 328; is then divided into the four magisterial districts of Leribe, Berea, Thaba Bosigo, and Kornet Spruit, 330; in November 1871 the annexation act is ratified by the queen in council, and thenceforth has effect, 336; revenue for the year ending 31st of May 1872, 339; expenditure for the same period, 339

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Basuto tribe: at the time of the abandonment of the Sovereignty in 1854 is rapidly increasing in power, 3; makes aggressive movements against the Orange Free State, 10, 100, 103, and 108; after Sir Philip Wodehouse's award in October 1864 endeavours to provoke the Free State burghers to commence hostilities, 121

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Beersheba mission station: at the commencement of the war of 1858 is greatly damaged, 58; in September 1858 by the first treaty of Aliwal North is greatly reduced in size and is incorporated in the Orange Free State, 75; a large portion of its lands is then given out as farms, 79; in June 1862 the remainder is sold to farmers by the Paris Evangelical Society, 106

Bell, Major Charles Harland: in May 1871 is appointed magistrate of the district of Leribe, 331

Berlin missionary society: employs agents among Bantu tribes in the South African Republic, 159

Bethlehem, district of: in May 1871 is established, 426

Bethlehem, village of: in March 1860 is founded, 83

Bethulie, district of: in October 1859 by cession of the chief Lepui becomes part of the Orange Free State, 82; in February 1860 is erected into a district under a landdrost, 83

Bethulie, village of: in June 1862 is founded, 83

Beyer, Rev. Mr.: in November 1861 becomes clergyman of the Separatist Reformed church at Reddersburg, 130

Bloemfontein bank: in June 1862 is established, 106

Bloemhof, district of: in June 1869 is established, 237

Bloemhof, village of: in August 1864 is founded, 237; proceedings of the court of arbitration from April to June 1871 at, 386 *et seq.*

Boshof, district of: in February 1858 is established, 83

Boshof, Jacobus Nicolaas: is elected president of the Orange Free State, 16; in August 1855 is installed, 17; by Sir George Grey's mediation in October 1855 has a conference with Moshesh at Smithfield, and concludes a formal treaty, 17; in February 1858 tenders his resignation, which is accepted by the volksraad, but after the appointment of an executive commission he is induced to withdraw it and remain in office, 52; on the 11th of March 1858 sends an ultimatum to Moshesh, 55; and as no notice is taken of it, on the 19th of the same month declares war, 56; in June 1859 resigns the office of president of the Orange Free State, and retires to Natal, 80

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Boundary dispute between the Orange Free State and the South African Republic: in February 1870 is decided in favour of the latter by Lieutenant-Governor Keate, of Natal, as arbitrator, who adjudges that the Klip river shall be the dividing stream, 235 to 237

Bowker, James Henry: in April 1868 is appointed high commissioner's agent in Basutoland, 298; in October 1871 is appointed a member of the executive committee of Griqualand West, 415

Brand, Advocate Jan Hendrik: is elected president of the Orange Free State, and in February 1864 assumes duty, 109; finds clans of the Basuto tribe pressing upon the state and occupying land far beyond their boundary, 117; induces Sir Philip Wodehouse to mediate in the interests of peace, 115; after the award of Sir Philip Wodehouse — which is that the old boundary shall be maintained with but one slight modification—gives Moshesh notice to recall his people before the 30th of November 1864, 119;

but upon request of the Basuto chiefs extends the time for the removal of property to the end of January 1865, 123; owing to the outrageous conduct of Ramanela on Free State soil, in May 1865 calls out an armed force to punish that chief, 125; finds hostilities with the Basuto tribe inevitable unless Moshesh will keep his people in order, 125; on the 2nd of June 1865 sends an ultimatum to Moshesh, of which no notice is taken, so on the 9th of June proclaims war with the Basuto, 125; on the 3rd of April 1866 agrees to peace, and signs the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, 209; owing to the deceitful conduct of the Basuto, in July 1867 is obliged to take up arms again, 276; but in March 1868 is compelled by the interference of Sir Philip Wodehouse practically to cease hostilities, 291; in February 1869 is driven by force of circumstances to sign the second treaty of Aliwal North, 304; upon the expiration of his first term of office is again elected president of the Orange Free State; in December 1870 with Mr. C. W. Hutton visits Capetown to explain the position of his government with regard to the territory claimed by Mr. Arnot for Nicholas Waterboer, 369; carries on a long, but fruitless, correspondence with the high commissioner concerning the right of the Free State to the diamond-fields south of the Vaal, 366 *et seq.*; is desired by a large party to become president of the South African Republic, so as to unite the two states, 397; as the scheme is unfriendly to Great Britain, he declines to allow himself to be put in nomination, 398; but acts as a peacemaker, ib.; upon the annexation of the diamond-fields to the British dominions, on the 7th of November 1871 enjoins all officers and burghers of the Free State to avoid anything that might cause a collision with the incoming authorities, 417; and expresses perfect confidence that England will do justice to the republic as soon as the true condition of affairs is known, ib.

Brandfort, village of: in October 1866 is founded, 169

Bright, H. E. Richard: in November 1871 becomes clerk to the chief magistrate of Basutoland, 331

Buchanan, David Dale, editor of the *Natal Witness*: in February 1867 becomes the avowed advocate of the Basuto tribe, 280; after the annexation of the Lesuto to the British dominions fans the discontent of the chiefs towards the high commissioner because they have not obtained everything they desire, 309; in April 1869 with the reverend Mr. Daumas and Moshesh's son Tsekelo proceeds to England, 310; obtains support from various missionary and philanthropic societies, 311; on the 22nd of June has an interview with the secretary of state, 312; with the result that Sir Philip Wodehouse is called upon for explanations, and the ratification of the settlement effected by him is delayed, 312; by his violent language Mr. Buchanan forfeits the attention of the secretary of state, 315; he returns to Natal, and instigates political agitators in the Lesuto, 322; is earnestly advised by the government of Natal to abstain from interference in Basuto

affairs, 324; in September 1871 is informed by authority of the high commissioner that if he sends messengers again into the Lesuto they will be prosecuted for stirring up sedition, 330; conclusion of his intercourse with the Basuto, 338

Burgers, Rev. Thomas François: particulars concerning, 399; on the 1st of July 1872 becomes president of the South African Republic, 400; induces the volksraad to consent to a loan and to commence the construction of a railway to Delagoa Bay, ib.

Burghers of the Orange Free State: according to the constitution of 1854 are all persons of European blood who have resided six months in the state, 3; according to the amended constitution of 1864 are all white persons born in the country, all white persons resident in the country and possessing fixed property to the value of £150 registered in their names, and all white persons resident for three successive years in the country, 109

Burghers of the South African Republic are all white persons over twenty-one years of age and born within the state, white persons possessing landed property within the state, and white persons of good conduct resident for one year within the state. Those coming under the last two clauses must take an oath of fidelity to the people and the government, obedience to the laws, and fidelity to the independence of the republic before they can claim burgher rights

Burnet, John: in February 1854 is left by Sir George Clerk at Bloemfontein as British agent, 19; in April 1855 is moved by Sir George Grey to Aliwal North as civil commissioner and resident magistrate, 19; in February 1862 is sent with Mr. J. M. Orpen to Moshesh to obtain information for the high commissioner, 98; in February 1864 is sent again as a commissioner to Moshesh, 115; and induces the chief to consent to the mediation of Sir Philip Wodehouse between the Free State and the Basuto tribe, 115; in October 1865 is sent again as a commissioner to Moshesh to endeavour to obtain compensation in cattle for Ramanela's raid into Natal, 195; but meets with only partial success, 196 and 197

Bushmen: under Poshuli's protection in 1860 commit many robberies and acts of violence, 88; account of the murder of two in 1867 by some miscreant in a commando, 272; particulars concerning kindred people in ancient times, 429

Button, Edward: in 1869 and 1870 discovers gold in various parts of the South African Republic, 250; in 1871 finds it at Eersteling near Marabastad, ib.; is appointed gold commissioner of the South African Republic, 251

Buys, Michiel, a half-breed: account of, 213; collects a number of retainers and settles in the district of Zoutpansberg, ib.

Buyskes, P. L.: in October 1871 is appointed sheriff of Griqualand West, 415

Campbell, John: on the 30th of November 1870 is appointed, by the high commissioner, under the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act, special magistrate in all the territory claimed by Mr. Arnot for Nicholas Waterboer, 383; on the 1st of February 1871 obtains a commission as magistrate from Nicholas Waterboer, ib.; from April to June 1871 is one of the judges of the arbitration court at Bloemhof, 386; upon the annexation of the diamond-fields to the British dominions is appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the district of Klipdrift, and a member of the executive committee, 415

Campbell district, west of the Vaal river: dispute between the government of the Orange Free State and Mr. David Arnot, agent for the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer, concerning the ownership of, 111 and 348

Cannibalism: as late as 1867 is practised by some Basuto, 295

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Civil strife in the South African Republic: in September 1860 commences, 135; and in May 1864 ends with the election as president of Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, 145

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Claim to a large portion of the Orange Free State made by Mr. David Arnot on behalf of the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer: particulars concerning, 112

Coat of arms of the Orange Free State: description of, 42

Coat of arms of the South African Republic: description of, 128

Commission on Basuto laws and customs: in August 1872 is appointed, 338; in December sends in a report, which afterwards serves as a handbook, 339

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Constitution of the Orange Free State: in March and April 1854 is framed by the volksraad, 3 *et seq.*; in 1864 is amended, 109

Constitution of the South African Republic: in December 1856 is framed by an assembly of delegates representing the districts of Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, and Pretoria, 35

Currie, Sir Walter: on the 14th of March 1868 is appointed high commissioner's agent in Basutoland, 290

Danser, David, Bushman captain: on the abandonment of the Sovereignty by the British government in February 1854 is left in an independent position, 2; disposes of farms in the location assigned to him by

Major Warden, 15; in September 1854 is at war with the Korana captain Goliath Yzerbek, ib.; expels his opponent from their joint location, ib.; is compelled by the Free State government to restore his booty and permit Goliath to return, ib.; in 1858 aids the Free State against Scheel Kobus and Goliath Yzerbek, 68

Danser, Jan: in 1859 sells to the Free State the location along the Vaal river assigned by the Sovereignty government to his deceased father David Danser, 81

Daumas, Rev. Mr.: proceedings of in 1869, 309

Diamonds, discovery of: in 1867 a trader named O'Reilly obtains from a farmer named Schalk van Niekerk a pebble—afterwards proved to be a diamond—found in the district of Hopetown in the Cape Colony, 354; search is then made, and several others are found in the Hopetown district and along the northern bank of the Vaal, ib.; in March 1869 the "Star of South Africa" is obtained from a Bantu witchfinder, ib.; by the close of 1869 it is ascertained that diamonds in large numbers are to be found above the junction of the Hart and Vaal rivers, 355; diggers then proceed to that locality from all parts of South Africa, ib.; early in 1870 diamonds are found on the Free State side of the river, 359; in June 1870 the diggings at Pniel are opened, ib.; a little later in the year the dry diggings at Dutoitspan are discovered, 360; and in June 1871 the present Kimberley mine is opened, 362

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Dreyer, Hendrik Oostewald, chairman of the volksraad of the Orange Free State: on the 29th of March 1866 is killed in action with the Basuto, 208

Duprat, Chevalier, consul-general for Portugal in South Africa: objects to the boundaries of the South African Republic as defined in a proclamation issued on the 29th of April 1868 by President Pretorius, 254; is empowered by the government of Portugal to conclude a treaty with the South African Republic, 260; which treaty is signed on the 29th of July 1869, 260

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Erasmus, Daniel Jacobus: in November 1871, upon the resignation of Mr. M. W. Pretorius, is appointed by the volksraad acting president of the South African Republic, 393; on the 25th of November 1871 issues a protest against the Keate award and a proclamation declaring the inviolability of the territory of the republic, 394
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Executive Council of the Orange Free State: consists of the government secretary, the landdrost of Bloemfontein, and three unofficial members chosen by the volksraad, 4
Executive Council of the South African Republic: according to the constitution framed in December 1856 consists of the president, the government secretary, two burghers appointed by the volksraad, and the commandant-general whenever military matters are under discussion, 36; by the agreement of union, 4th of March 1860, Lydenburg is entitled to elect two additional members, 134; by later alterations made in the constitution, the executive council was made to consist of the commandant-general, the state secretary, the superintendent of native affairs, two unofficial members, and any head of a department whom the president might invite to assist
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Fick, J. I. J.: at the commencement of the Basuto war in 1865 is elected commandant-general of the Free State forces, 166; on the 20th of July 1865 crosses the Caledon, and proclaims the whole territory north and west of that river part of the Free State, 176
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Freedom of conscience in the South African Republic: by the constitution of January 1857 is restricted, 37; but in June 1870 the restrictions are removed by the volksraad, 261
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Gasibone, chief of a clan of the Batlapin: in 1858 during the Basuto war makes an unprovoked raid into the Orange Free State, 67; on the 13th of August 1858 is killed in battle, 70

Girls' Training School: in 1871 is opened in Basutoland by the reverend Mr. Jousse, 336

Goedgedacht, mission station of the Dutch Reformed church: in 1862 is established in the location of Michiel Buys in the district of Zoutpansberg, 215; in July 1865 is temporarily abandoned on account of war, 219

Gold: in 1867 is discovered by Mr. Carl Mauch at the Tati, 242; also near the Zambesi, 249; in 1869 and 1870 is found by Mr. Edward Button in various parts of the South African Republic, 250; and in 1871 at Eersteling near Marabastad, ib.

Gold mining: in ancient times was carried on in the territory south of the Limpopo as well as between that river and the Zambesi, 241; account of operations at the Tati, 246 and 247; in 1872 is favourably regarded by the government of the South African Republic, 250

Goliath Yzerbek, Korana captain: on the abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in February 1854 is left in an independent position, 2; in September 1854 is at war with David Danser, 15; in 1857 sells his share of the mixed Korana and Bushman reserve to the Orange Free State, 66; in 1858 aids Scheel Kobus in plundering the Free State, 66

Grey, Sir George: is high commissioner and governor of the Cape Colony, 17; is desirous of preventing war between the Orange Free State and the Basuto tribe, ib.; arranges for a meeting in October 1855 with President Boshof and Moshesh, ib.; is the means of a treaty being entered into between the Free State and the Basuto tribe, 17; by means of agents scattered throughout Kaffirland is kept informed of Moshesh's intrigues, 22; in August and September 1858 arranges conditions of peace between the Free State and the Basuto tribe, 72 to 76; in 1858 intends to remove Jan Letele and Lehana to Nomansland, but his design is frustrated by Moshesh, 78; offers Adam Kok part of Nomansland, 93

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Griqualand West: on the 27th of October 1871 is annexed to the British dominions, 414; is divided into the three magisterial districts of Klipdrift, Pniel, and Griquatown, 415; receives a staff of British officials, ib.; area, population, and other particulars concerning the territory so called, 416

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Harrismith, district of : in September 1854 is united to Winburg, 10 ; in 1856 becomes a separate district again, 20
Hartley, Henry : is the first in our times to notice ancient mines in the territory south of the Zambesi, 241 ; invites the German geologist Carl Mauch to visit and inspect the country, 242
Hay, Lieutenant-General, her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa : in September 1870 opens a controversy with the government of the Orange Free State concerning the claim made by Mr. Arnot, on behalf of the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer, to the territory in which the diamond mines are situated, 365 ; in his despatches to the secretary of state uses expressions that cannot be justified by facts, 369 ; in September 1870 writes to President Pretorius, of the South African Republic, calling upon him to abstain from aggressions on Bantu tribes, 381 ; on the 30th of November 1870 appoints Mr. John Campbell special magistrate in all the territory claimed by Mr. Arnot for Nicholas Waterboer, 383
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van Heiningen, Rev. Mr. : in 1858 becomes clergyman of the Dutch Reformed church at Lydenburg, 128
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Hoffman, Josias Philip : is president of the council to which Sir George Clerk in 1854 transfers the government of the territory occupied by Europeans between the Vaal and Orange rivers, 2 ; is elected first president of the Orange Free State, 7 ; visits Moshesh, 11 ; makes Moshesh a present of a keg of gunpowder, 15 ; attempts to conceal this transaction from the volksraad, 15 ; becomes very unpopular, and in February 1855 resigns his office, 16
Howell, James Michael, landdrost of Winburg : in 1858 takes part in the war against Scheel Kobus and other captains, 68

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Katlakter, chief of a Bavenda clan: takes part in the war from April 1865 to July 1868 against the Europeans in Zoutpansberg, 219; destroys the mission buildings at Goedgedacht, 219; is attacked in May 1867 by a commando, but manages to hold his own, 222; sets fire to the village of Schoemansdal after its abandonment, 223
Keate, Robert William, lieutenant-governor of Natal: acts as arbitrator in the boundary dispute between the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, and in February 1870 decides that the Klip river shall be the dividing stream, 235; as final umpire of the court of arbitration at Bloemhof, on the 17th of October 1871 signs an award which cuts off a great deal of territory from the South African Republic, 389
Ketshwayo, son of the Zulu chief Panda: upon the flight of his brother Umtonga to Utrecht in February 1861 offers the people of that district a strip of territory along their border if they will surrender the fugitive, 151; the farmers of Utrecht consent to the proposal upon condition that the life of Umtonga is spared, ib.; Ketshwayo agrees to this, and the arrangement is concluded, ib.; Panda approves of what has been done by his son, 153; and in August 1861 signs a deed of cession of the ground, 152; in December 1864 the boundary of the ceded land is beaconed off by a commission from the South African Republic and delegates from Panda and Ketshwayo, 154; in February 1865 Umtonga flees from Zululand to Natal, when Ketshwayo, having lost what he has obtained for the ground, causes the beacons to be removed, 155; Panda then requests President Pretorius to alter the boundary so as to restore to Zululand some ground along the Pongolo, ib.; the attitude of Ketshwayo is so threatening that the farmers of Utrecht go into lager, ib.; and a commando under Paul Kruger assembles at Wakkerstroom, ib.; in July 1865 Ketshwayo gives Commmandant-General Kruger assurances that he has no hostile intentions, and removes his army from the Utrecht border, 185; but a little later sends people to build kraals north of the Pongolo river, 232; and claims the ceded territory along the Utrecht border, 232; offers

the ceded ground to Natal, 233; which leads to correspondence between the two governments concerning arbitration, 233; all the time Ketshwayo professes that he entertains no other feeling than friendship for the South African Republic, 234; but does not succeed in deceiving the burghers, 234; who are aware that he is not to be trusted, but are not afraid of his power, 233; he succeeds, however, in skilfully playing off Natal against the South African Republic, 234; further mention of, 324

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Kock, Commandant Jan: in 1859 attempts to disturb the peace in the district of Winburg, 130; but does not succeed, and is brought to trial and fined, 131 and 132; takes part with Stephanus Schoeman in the disturbances in the South African Republic in 1862, and is punished by sentence of confiscation of all his property, 139

Kok, Adam, captain of a Griqua clan: publishes his disapproval of the arrangements made in 1854 by Sir George Clerk, 7; invites a party of blacks from the Cape Colony to settle in his district, 8; wishes to renew negotiations with Sir George Clerk, 8; but is informed that it is now too late, 9; in September 1854 makes an arrangement with President Hoffman by which land in his reserve can be sold to Europeans, 9; acts as arbitrator between Nicholas Waterboer and Cornelis Kok, and in October 1855 lays down the boundary known as the Vetberg line between the districts of those captains, 24; in 1861 moves from Philippolis to Nomansland, 93; in December 1861 sells to the Orange Free State his sovereign rights and the whole of the landed property of his clan north of the Orange, 95; in 1865 fights on the Free State side against the Basuto, 173

Kok, Cornelis, captain of a Griqua clan: in April 1854 has his claim to ground above the junction of the Orange and Vaal rivers recognised by the government of the Orange Free State, 7; submits his dispute with Nicholas Waterboer concerning ownership of territory to the arbitration of Adam Kok, and in October 1855 is awarded the land north of the Vetberg line, 24; is recognised by the Free State government as possessing proprietary but not sovereign rights in the

district north of the Vetberg line, ib.; cedes his chieftainship to his nephew Adam Kok, 111

Kroonstad, district of: in August 1859 is established, 83

Kruger, Stephanus Johannes Paulus: in 1854 takes part in the expedition against insurgent clans in the district of Zoutpansberg, 31; in April 1857 is a commandant in the force that invades the Orange Free State, 45; soon afterwards is sent to Bloemfontein on a friendly mission, 48; in April 1858 takes Mapela's stronghold by storm, and suppresses the insurrection of that chief, 126; assists in framing the constitution of the South African Republic, 34; in June 1858 visits Thaba Bosigo as a commissioner of the South African Republic, 72; in 1858 commands an expedition against the Batlapin, 70; in October 1862 commands the burgher force that drives Stephanus Schoeman from Pretoria, 138; and from Potchefstroom, 139; in 1863 is elected commandant-general of the South African Republic, 142; in December 1863 calls out a force to oppose Jan Viljoen, who is heading an insurrection, 142; part of his force is obliged to surrender, and he retires to the Orange Free State for a short time, 143; on the 5th of January 1864 defeats Jan Viljoen in an action at the ford of the Limpopo between Pretoria and Rustenburg, 143; in September 1865 commands an expedition against the Basuto, 188; in November 1865 visits Zoutpansberg, and endeavours in vain to restore peace, 219; in May 1867 with five hundred men attacks the captain Katlakter, but is obliged to retire without taking that rebel's stronghold, 222; appeals to the country to support him with fifteen hundred men, but without success, 222; in June 1867 abandons Schoemansdal, 223; and shortly afterwards disbands the commando, 223; in June 1868 with a commando of nearly nine hundred men inflicts heavy losses on the insurgent chiefs Mapela and Matshem, 226 and 227; in February 1870 visits Panda with a commission, and finds the Zulu people opposed to the occupation by Europeans of the ground ceded some time before by Ketshwayo, 232

Kuane: see Letele

Kuruman, claimant to the chieftainship of the Matabele tribe: in 1870 is defeated by the partisans of Lobengula, 246; resides subsequently at Shoshong and in the South African Republic, ib.

Ladybrand, village of: in 1869 is founded, 317

Lake Chrissie: in January 1867 a few Scotch families are located on the margin of, 162

Landdrosts in the Orange Free State: are provisionally appointed by the president, but must be confirmed in office by the volksraad, 5

Landdrosts in the South African Republic: before 1858 are elected by the burghers of each district, 37; after 1858 are appointed by the executive council, but can be rejected by the people of the district at any time within two months, 128

Law of the Orange Free State adopted in May 1866 for the government of Molapo's clan, 262

Laws and regulations put in force in Basutoland on the 1st of December 1871, 331 *et seq.*

Laws relating to the treatment of Bantu tribes in the South African Republic, 127

Lebenya, chief of a Basuto clan: early in 1858 ravages several farms in the Orange Free State, 53; after the seizure of Vechtkop by the Free State forces in 1865 abandons the Lesuto and retires first to the Wittebergen reserve for Bantu and then to Nomansland, where he has ground assigned to him by Sir Philip Wodehouse, 278

Lepui, Batlapin chief at Bethulie: on the abandonment of the Sovereignty in 1854 is left in an independent position, 1; in October 1859 cedes the district of Bethulie to the Orange Free State, 82

Letele, Jan, chief of a Basuto clan: is a grandson of Motlomi and representative of the most powerful family in the Lesuto before the rise of Moshesh, 12; is the head of a gang of robbers, 12; is at enmity with Moshesh's brother Poshuli, 13; in March 1858 is received as a subject of the Orange Free State, 54; in January 1862 is robbed of all his cattle by Poshuli, 96; after which he sinks greatly in power and influence, 97

Letsie, eldest son by the great wife of the Basuto chief Moshesh: in April 1858 is defeated by the Free State forces, when his kraal at Morija is destroyed, 61; for selfish reasons is disposed to carry out Sir Philip Wodehouse's award in October 1864, 120; in 1865 is at enmity with his brother Molapo, 165; in July 1865 his kraal of Matsieng is taken by Commandant Wepener, 176; joins his father Moshesh in applying for British protection, 265; in April 1866 in order to save the crops, with the other Basuto chiefs agrees to peace with the Free State, 209; after signing the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, renews his efforts to obtain British protection, 265; but the secretary of state for the colonies is unwilling to extend the British dominions, 265; Letsie then applies to be received as a subject by the Free State, 265; and receives permission to remain where he is until his crops are reaped, 266; in May 1867 is received as a Free State subject and allowed to remain in his old district, 272; as soon as his crops are harvested and stored in fortified mountains he becomes defiant, 274; in the war of 1867-8 loses his stronghold, the Kieme, 286; in March 1868 is received as a British subject, 287; at a great meeting at Thaba Bosigo on the 22nd of December 1870 expresses himself satisfied with the regulations drawn up by Sir Philip Wodehouse, 324 and 325; expresses himself satisfied that the Lesuto is annexed to the Cape Colony, 329

Letsima, Basuto custom of: particulars concerning, 336

Livingstone, Rev. Dr.: claims independence for the Betshuana tribes bordering on the desert, 257

Lobengula, son of Moselekatse: particulars concerning, 245 and 246; in January 1870 becomes chief of the Matabele tribe, 245; is a friend of Europeans, ib.

London and Limpopo Mining Company: in 1868 is formed, 248; in 1872 obtains a large and important concession from Lobengula, 249; account of its operations in South Africa, 248 and 249

Ludorf, Rev. Joseph, Wesleyan missionary: acts as agent for the Barolong chief Montsiwa, 374; devises an ingenious but fabulous history of the Barolong, 375; in April to June 1871 conducts the case for the Barolong chiefs before the arbitration court at Bloemhof, 386 *et seq.*; admits that he is the author of a spurious treaty that has been used to draw President Pretorius into a snare, 387; after the delivery of the Bloemhof award, in November 1871 draws up a pompous but absurd constitution for a united Barolong, Bangwaketse, and Batlapin state, 393; in January 1872 dies, 395

Lydenburg, district of: in December 1856 separates from the South African Republic and is declared by its representatives to be a sovereign and independent state, 40; in September 1857 negotiations are commenced by the government at Potchefstroom for a reconciliation, 132; and are carried on until April 1860, when the union of the two states is completed, 133

Maboela, Basuto custom of: particulars concerning, 337

Magadu, son of the Bavenda chief Ramapulana: quarrels with his brother Tabana, and after his father's death drives him from his kraals, 216; in April 1865 engages in war with the Europeans in Zoutpansberg, 219

Mahura, chief of a Batlapin clan: in 1858 protects his relative Gasibone against the South African Republic, 70; makes an agreement of peace, in which he undertakes to pay the expenses of the commando within three months, ib.; but pays nothing when called upon to do so, 147; in May 1864, in reply to a letter of demand from President Pretorius, refers the government of the republic to his agent, Mr. David Arnot, 147; in February 1869 with other Batlapin chiefs and several Korana captains has a conference with a commission from the South African Republic, 372; at which he and the others admit their indebtedness and undertake to pay three thousand head of cattle within two months, ib.; but they fail to carry out their agreement, ib.; shortly after this Mahura dies and is succeeded by Mankoroane as head of the clan, 373

Makalanga clans: are reduced to great misery by the Matabele, 246

Makapan: is chief of a clan called the Batlou in the district of Zoutpansberg, 27; in 1854 causes a party of Europeans to be murdered, 29; commences to pillage the country in his neighbourhood, ib.; upon the approach of burgher forces under Commandants-General Pretorius and Potgieter takes refuge with all his people

in an enormous cavern, 30; where he is blockaded, 31; and the greater part of his clan perishes, 31

Makwai, chief of a Basuto clan: in May 1867 is received as a Free State subject, 273; but soon afterwards goes into rebellion, 276; after the loss of his stronghold on the 25th of September 1867 moves over the Drakensberg to Nomansland, 278; where he has ground assigned to him by Sir Philip Wodehouse, ib.

Malewu, chief of a Bantu clan in the district of Lydenburg: in 1863 rises in arms against the South African Republic, 148; in June 1864 is attacked by a Swazi army, when his clan is nearly annihilated, ib.

Mapela, chief of a Bantu clan in the district of Lydenburg: early in 1858 rises in rebellion, 126; but is defeated with heavy loss and compelled to submit, ib.; ten years later rises again, but in June 1868 is severely chastised, 226

Mapok, chief of a Bantu clan in the district of Lydenburg: in 1863 rises in rebellion, 148; meets with some reverses, but does a great deal of damage to the farms in the district, ib.; in June 1864 is routed by a Swazi army, ib.

Marabastad, village of: after the abandonment of Schoemansdal in June 1867 becomes the residence of the landdrost of Zoutpansberg, 224

Marico, district of: in October 1871 is established, 391 and 392

Marthinus-Wessel-Stroom, village of: in 1859 is founded, 132

Maseru: in March 1869 is selected as the residence of the high commissioner's agent in the Lesuto, 308

Masupha, son of the Basuto chief Moshesh: in June 1865 leads a raiding party into the Free State and commits several massacres of a peculiarly atrocious nature, 169; on the death of his father takes up his residence on Thaba Bosigo against the orders of the high commissioner's agent, 325; refuses to leave Thaba Bosigo, and remains master of the stronghold, 330; owing to a feud between him and Jonathan, son of Molapo, in 1872 he becomes less refractory, 337

Matabele tribe: history of from 1837 to 1868, 242 to 246; in 1859 is provided with missionaries by the London Society, 243; in 1870 is engaged in civil war, 246

Matshangana tribe: account of the, 217

Matshatshi, chieftainess of the Bakwebo: account of, 214

Matsheng, chief of the Bamangwato: account of, 252; governs as a despot, ib.

Mauch, Carl, German geologist: in 1867 discovers gold in the territory north of the Limpopo, 242

M'Corkindale, Alexander: in September 1864 obtains a concession from the government of the South African Republic for introducing immigrants from Great Britain, 161; is unable to carry out his

project in its entirety, but brings out a few Scotch families, 162; in May 1871 dies at Inyaka Island, 162

M'Kidd, Rev. Mr.: founds the first mission of the Dutch Reformed church in the Zoutpansberg district, 215

Measures adopted by the Free State government with regard to the territory acquired by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, 262; three rows of farms adjoining the boundary are given free to selected applicants to hold under personal occupation, and in the remainder of the territory not intended for reserves for blacks farms are sold by auction, 270; in January 1867 the farms are allotted, but the owners cannot occupy them on account of Basuto squatters, 270; therefore in March 1867 a burgher force is called out to expel the Basuto, 271; two commandos commence destroying the crops, 271; but do not meet with much resistance, 272; the great object of the Basuto being to save their crops, they in general profess abject submission and implore to be received as Free State subjects, 272; in May the volksraad consents, and Letsie and other chiefs are taken over, 272; as soon as the crops are gathered, all the chiefs except Moperi become defiant, 274; in June an English trader named Bush is murdered by some Bataung in the ceded territory, and Moshesh protects the murderer, 275; in July a farmer named Krynauw is murdered by a party of Bataung, 275; as it is then certain that the Basuto have no intention to abide by their engagements, the burghers are called to arms, and the war of 1867-8 follows, 276

Middelburg, district of: in October 1871 is established, 391 and 392

Middelburg, village of: in 1859 is founded, 134

Military force of the Orange Free State: constitution of, 5

Mineral wealth of the South African Republic as known in 1868, 240

Missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Society: in February 1866 the volksraad of the Orange Free State expels those whose stations are in the territory overrun by the burgher forces, 201; further particulars of this event, 267; after the second treaty of Aliwal North they return to their labours in the Lesuto, 335

Mission work in the Lesuto: general effects of, 91

Mission work in the South African Republic: is carried on by the Berlin and Hermansburg societies and the Dutch reformed church, 159

Moffat, Rev. J. S.: in 1859 assists to found a mission among the Matabele, 243

Moffat, Rev. R.: in 1857 visits Moselekatse and obtains his consent to the establishment of a mission in his country, 243; induces Moselekatse to liberate Matsheng, 252

Molapo, son of the Basuto chief Moshesh: after suffering severely in the war of 1865-6, on the 26th of March 1866 by the treaty of Imparani becomes a subject of the Orange Free State, 208; takes no open part in the war of 1867-8, 279; in March 1868 expresses a desire to come under British protection, 295; tries to induce the Basuto tribe

to join Natal in hope of receiving aid to recover lost territory, 298; by the second treaty of Aliwal North is permitted to become a British subject, 305; punishes the robber chief Ramanela by seizing a thousand head of his cattle, 313; on the 11th of April 1870 becomes a British subject, 320

Molitsane, chief of the Bataung clan: in 1854 is a vassal of Moshesh with his own consent, 1; at the close of the war of 1865-6, as his district has been ceded to the Orange Free State, applies to be received as a subject of that republic, 265; and receives permission to remain where he is until a suitable location can be found for him, 266; gathers his crops, and when the sowing season comes round puts a large extent of ground under cultivation, 266; in May 1867 is received as a Free State subject, 273; takes part in the war of 1867-8, 279; and in March 1868 becomes a British subject, 287; in 1869 is removed to the south of the Lesuto, 311; where in October 1885 he dies at a very advanced age, ib.

Molopo, conference of: is held in November 1870 between a commission of the South African Republic and various Betshuana chiefs, 378

Monene, a refugee from the Matshangana tribe: has a location in the Zoutpansberg district assigned to him, 217; causes much trouble by his turbulent conduct, 218; in July 1864 has a location close to Schoemansdal given to him by President Pretorius, 218; is arrested on a charge brought against him by João Albasini, 218; in March 1865 escapes from custody, 218; and takes refuge with chiefs in the mountains who are ill-disposed towards the Europeans, 218; a party of Knobnoses is sent in search of him, 219; also a party of white men under Commandant Stephanus Venter, 219; who attack the chief Pago, 219; and a general war follows, ib.

Montsiwa, chief of the Tsili branch of the Barolong tribe: after 1854 remains with the Bangwaketse tribe north of the Molopo river, 374; in August 1868 applies through the reverend J. Ludorf to the high commissioner for protection against the South African Republic, 375; in March 1870 supports his brother Molema in his refusal to pay taxes, 377; in November 1870 with other chiefs has a conference with a commission from the South African Republic, 378; when it is agreed on both sides to refer questions in dispute to a court of arbitration, 381; applies to Lieutenant-General Hay to appoint two members of the court of arbitration, ib.; by the Keate award in October 1871 is declared independent of the South African Republic, 390

Monument to the memory of the Free State citizens who lost their lives in the Basuto wars: on the 29th of May 1871 is unveiled at Bloemfontein, 427

Moperi, brother of the Basuto chief Moshesh: in May 1865 commits several outrages on Free State soil, 125; applies to be received as a subject of the Free State, 265; is considered the least untrustworthy

of all the Basuto chiefs, 266; in June 1867 is received as a Free State subject, and a tract of land in Witsi's Hoek is assigned to him as a location, 273; in August 1867 moves with his clan to Witsi's Hoek, 276; takes no part in the subsequent war, 276

Moroko, chief of the Seleka branch of the Barolong tribe: in 1854 is left in an independent position on the abandonment of the Sovereignty, 1; in the war of 1858 assists the Free State against the Basuto, 63; is regarded with great favour by the Free State government, 90; in 1865 enters into a treaty of alliance with the Free State, 269; in the war of 1865-6 fights on the Free State side, 177

Morosi, chief of the Baputi clan: dealings of the Cape government with, 73; in 1868 is the head of a gang of robbers, 301; in February 1869 requests to be received as a British subject, but the high commissioner takes time for consideration, 308; in June 1870 becomes a British subject, 321

Moselekatse, chief of the Matabele tribe: in 1868 dies, 244

Moshesh, founder and paramount chief of the Basuto tribe: issues an ordinance prohibiting the introduction of spirituous liquors into the Lesuto, 14; issues other ordinances, which are, however, not enforced, 14; is the most intelligent and humane of all known Bantu chiefs, but has no regard for his word, 77; by Sir George Grey's mediation has a conference with President Boshof at Smithfield, and concludes a formal treaty, 17; which he afterwards takes no trouble to observe, 19; in March 1856 lays claim in writing to a large tract of land in the Orange Free State, 21; is preparing for war with the Free State, 22; is intriguing with some of the coast tribes, 22; manages to deceive the missionaries as to his designs, 22; is closely watched by Sir George Grey, who is aware of his intrigues, 22; makes an agreement with Free State commissioners, but fails to keep it, 21; in 1857 offers under certain conditions to submit his dispute with the Free State to the decision of Sir George Grey, 51; early in 1858 tries to provoke the burghers of the Free State to commence hostilities, 52; in the war of 1858 devises an excellent plan of campaign, 60; on the 15th of October 1858 with great reluctance signs the treaty of peace drawn up by Sir George Grey, 76; makes no effort to carry out the provisions of the treaty of 1858, 77; in August 1860 waits upon his Royal Highness Prince Alfred at Aliwal North, 89; in September 1861 informs a commissioner of the Orange Free State that he will not recognise any boundary lines or carry out the arrangements made with President Pretorius, 92; in March 1862 treats with great indignity a commission sent from the Free State to endeavour to obtain redress of grievances, 101; in May 1863 informs a commission from the Free State government that he does not recognise a boundary and will not recall his people, who are trespassing on farms, 107; in November 1863 proposes to Acting Presi-

dent Venter a boundary line that would cut off from the Free State nearly half the districts of Winburg and Harrismith, 108; consents with great reluctance to the mediation of Sir Philip Wodehouse, 115; after Sir Philip Wodehouse's decision in favour of the Free State resolves to evade carrying out the award while professing to submit to it, 120; is completely under the influence of seers, 164; in 1865 issues a proclamation in reply to President Brand's declaration of war, 166; (for subsequent occurrences see War of 1865-6); after signing the treaty of Thaba Bosigo renews his efforts to obtain British protection, 265; instead of withdrawing his subjects, towards the end of 1866 sends strong parties of warriors into the ceded territory, 270; and lays up large stores of grain on strongly fortified mountains, 271; in March 1867 informs the high commissioner that he does not intend to surrender the ceded territory, 271; in July causes a letter of defiance to be written to the president, 275; as soon as the crops of 1867 are harvested denies all knowledge of the treaty of Thaba Bosigo and announces that he will not allow Europeans to settle on the ceded land, 274; in August 1867 sends a messenger to Natal to urge that he may be taken over and that his country may be joined to that colony, 281; in March 1868 becomes a British subject, 287; at this time is very feeble and irresolute, 300; on the 11th of March 1870 dies, 318

Mpofu, Bavenda chief: upon the occupation of the Zoutpansberg district by the emigrant farmers gathers a number of Bantu refugees there, 213; upon his death two of his sons fight for the chieftainship, when the one—Ramapulana—favoured by Commandant-General Potgieter is successful, ib.

Neethling and Louw, Rev. Messrs.: in 1853 at the instance of the Cape synod visit the South African Republic, 32

Nehemiah, son of the Basuto chief Moshesh: in 1857 is sent by his father to the Koesberg to suppress stocklifting, 51; in 1858 with a few followers moves into Nomansland in order to defeat Sir George Grey's plan of locating Jan Letele and Lehana there, 78; engages in hostilities with the Pondomsi in Nomansland, 90; endeavours, though in vain, to procure Sir George Grey's recognition of his ownership of the district in which he is living, 91; endeavours to obtain from Sir Philip Wodehouse recognition of his ownership of part of Nomansland, but in vain, 94 and 99; gives a great deal of trouble to Adam Kok's Griquas after their settlement in Nomansland, 94; but in 1865 is defeated by them and driven back into the Lesuto, 94

Nombati, induna: from October 1868 to January 1870 is regent of the Matabele tribe, 244; is friendly to Europeans, ib.

Nooitgedacht, conference of: is held in August 1870 between a commission from the Orange Free State and one from the Griqua

captain Nicholas Waterboer, 350 to 353; also between commissions from the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, 353
Norwegian mission society: sends agents to Zululand, 149
Nylstroom, village of: in March 1866 becomes the residence of the landdrost of the new village of Waterberg, 237

Orange Free State: on the abandonment of the Sovereignty in 1854 the territory handed over to the provisional administration comprises only the ground actually occupied by Europeans and the waste lands enclosed by the Orange and Vaal rivers and the Kathlamba mountains, 2; in 1854 is inhabited by only fifteen thousand Europeans, 2; is chiefly adapted for pastoral purposes, 2; in October 1859 obtains the district of Bethulie by cession from Lepui, 82; in December 1861 obtains the district of Philippolis by purchase from Adam Kok, 95; in February 1870 has its north-eastern boundary defined by Lieutenant-Governor Keate, of Natal, 237; in February 1869 has its south-eastern boundary defined by the second treaty of Aliwal North, 306; in October 1871 loses a large extent of territory by the annexation of the diamond-fields to the British dominions, 414
O'Reilly, Anthony Alexander, landdrost of Wakkerstroom: in April to June 1871 is a member of the arbitration court at Bloemhof, on behalf of the South African Republic, 386
Orpen, Francis: in October 1871 is appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the district of Griquatown, 415
Orpen, Joseph Millerd: in March and April 1854 as a member of the volksraad takes a leading part in framing the constitution of the Orange Free State, 10; in July 1854 is appointed landdrost of the united districts of Winburg and Harrismith, 10; visits Moshesh as a special commissioner of the Orange Free State, 11; visits Moshesh again as special commissioner, 13; in 1856 expels Witsi's robber clan from Harrismith, 20; in October 1856 resigns as landdrost of Winburg, 25; in January 1862 acts as a peacemaker between the Free State and Moshesh, 96; in February 1862 with Mr. J. Burnet visits Moshesh to obtain information for the high commissioner, 98

Pafuri, Bavenda chief: account of, 214
Panda, chief of the Zulu tribe: encourages European traders in Zululand and permits missionaries to pursue their labours, 149; in August 1861 cedes to the South African Republic a strip of land along the border of the district of Utrecht, 154; in 1869 sends two hundred and forty head of cattle to buy the ground back again, 232; but the republic refuses to sell it, ib.
Pansegrouw, J. G.: in the war of 1867-8 is in command of a division of the Free State forces, 276; on the 25th of September 1867 takes Makwai's mountain by storm, 277; on the 28th of January 1868

takes Tandjesberg by storm, 284; and on the 22nd of February 1868 makes himself master of the Kieme, 286

Paper money: in April 1865 is created by the government of the Orange Free State to the amount of £30,000 as capital of the Bloemfontein bank, 114; in June 1866 is created by the government of the Orange Free State to the amount of £100,000, £43,000 of which is intended to cover war expenses and £57,000 to lend to impoverished burghers, 263; in June 1865 is created by the government of the South African Republic to the amount of £10,500, 163; in February 1866 is created by the government of the South African Republic to the amount of £12,000, 221; in May 1867 is created by the government of the South African Republic to the amount of £20,000, 222; in 1868 is created by the government of the South African Republic to the amount of £65,000, but out of this the previous issues are to be redeemed, 226; in June 1870 another issue is authorised by the government of the South African Republic, bringing the whole amount in circulation up to £73,826, 238; the whole of this is to meet deficiency of revenue

Paris evangelical mission society: statistics of its operations in Basutoland in 1872, 339 and 340

Pellissier, Rev. Mr.: dealings of with regard to the district of Bethulie, 81 and 82

Periplus of the Erythrean sea: knowledge derived from, 442

Philippolis, district of: in December 1861 is purchased by the Free State from Adam Kok, 95; in April 1862 is placed under a landdrost, ib.

Pliny, work of: reference to, 444

Pniel: in February 1871 is made a separate district of the Orange Free State, 362

Poortje mission station: in 1862 is founded by the reverend Mr. Rolland, 106

Poshuli, brother of the Basuto chief Moshesh: in February 1858 takes forcible possession of a farm in the Free State, 53; after 1858 becomes patron of a band of Bushman marauders, 88; in January 1862 makes a raid upon Jan Letele, and takes all his cattle, 96; in May 1865 pillages farms along the lower Caledon, 168; in June 1865 is a leader in the raid into the Smithfield district, 168; in May 1867 is received as a Free State subject, 273; on the 28th of January 1868 is killed in the storming of Tandjesberg, 284

Postal communication between Basutoland and other countries: in January 1872 is established, 336

Postma, Rev. Mr.: in 1858 becomes clergyman of the Separatist Reformed church at Rustenburg, 128

Potgieter, Hermanus: in 1854 is leader of a hunting party, 27; visits the kraal of Makapan to purchase ivory, 27; where he is murdered with twelve white men and ten women and children, 29

Potgieter, Commandant-General Pieter G.: in 1854 leads a force against insurgent clans in the district of Zoutpansberg, 30; is killed when blockading a cavern, 31

Potgieter's Rust, village of: in 1870 is abandoned on account of fever, 229

President of the Orange Free State: by the constitution of 1854 is elected by the burghers, from a list of candidates nominated by the volksraad, for a term of five years. There is nothing to prevent the same person holding the office more than one term. The president is the principal executive officer of the state, he superintends all public departments and the carrying out of all business connected with the public service, but he is responsible to the volksraad, and his administrative acts are liable to be reviewed by that body. He is required to make a yearly report of the state of the country and of the public service to the volksraad, and must visit the district villages frequently, and make himself acquainted with the interests and wishes of the people. All appointments made by him are provisional and require the confirmation of the volksraad; he can suspend public functionaries, but not deprive them of office; with the consent of a majority of the executive council he can exercise the prerogative of mercy in criminal cases; with the concurrence of the volksraad he can declare war, make peace, and conclude treaties. In 1856 an ordinance was passed, under which the burghers can vote for any person as president who receives a requisition signed by twenty-five qualified electors, provided such requisition with a reply accepting it are published in the *Staats Courant* four full weeks before the day of election. For original constitution see page 4, for amendment of 1856 see page 80

President of the South African Republic: by the constitution, as amended in November 1871, is elected for a term of five years. He is the chief executive officer of the republic, but is responsible to the volksraad, whose resolutions he must obey. He must be over thirty years of age, a member of a Protestant church, and never convicted of a dishonourable offence. He need not be a burgher of the republic at the time of his election, but must have received requisitions signed by at least one hundred qualified voters, which requisitions must be published in the *Staats Courant* for one month before the day fixed for the election. The voting is by ballot. For amended constitution see page 396, and for qualifications, duties, and powers of the president before 1871 see page 36

Pretoria, district of: in 1855 is established, 34

Pretoria, village of: in 1855 is founded, 34; by the treaty of April 1860 with Lydenburg becomes the seat of government, 134

Pretorius, Marthinus Wessel: in 1854 leads a force against insurgent clans in the district of Zoutpansberg, 30; in January 1857 is appointed by the representative assembly president of the South African Republic, 38; in February 1857 visits the Orange Free State in order to try

to effect the union of that country with the South African Republic, 42; is unsuccessful, and is ordered by the volksraad to leave Bloemfontein, 43; in December 1859 is elected president of the Orange Free State, 84; in February 1860 obtains six months leave of absence from the South African Republic, 134; proceeds to Bloemfontein, and on the 8th of February 1860 takes the oath of office as president of the Orange Free State, 84; in May 1860 has a conference with Moshesh and comes to a friendly arrangement with him, 87; which, however, Moshesh does not carry out, 88; in September 1860 resigns as president of the South African Republic, 136; in April 1861 has another friendly conference with Moshesh, 89; in May 1861 visits Panda, and obtains his approval of the cession of land made by Ketshwayo to the district of Utrecht, 153; in July 1862 visits Capetown to confer with the high commissioner on various subjects, 101; in November 1862 acts as a mediator in the civil strife in the South African Republic, 139; in April 1863 resigns as president of the Orange Free State, 106; in January 1864 acts as mediator between Messrs. Kruger and Viljoen, 143; is elected president of the South African Republic, and on the 10th of May 1864 assumes duty, 144; on the 26th of June 1865 issues a proclamation full of sympathy for the Free State, 174; five burghers of the South African Republic having been murdered by Basuto, on the 7th of August 1865 he demands from Moshesh the murderers and payment for the stolen property, with the alternative of war, 185; accompanies the force sent against the Basuto, 188; in November 1865 visits Zoutpansberg and endeavours in vain to restore peace, 219; in 1866 causes the new Zulu line to be altered in accordance with Panda's wishes, 232; after the abandonment of Schoemansdal in June 1867 makes a despairing appeal to the country for volunteers to recover the lost ground, 224; sends messengers to Moselekatse and Matsheng to induce those chiefs to submit to the authority of the South African Republic, 251; on the 29th of April 1868 issues a proclamation extending the boundaries of the republic, 254; in July 1868 visits Zoutpansberg, and concludes a kind of peace, 227; in 1869 is re-elected president of the South African Republic, 237; in June 1870 grants to a company a monopoly of diamond digging north of the Vaal, and by so doing creates such opposition from the diggers that the government of the South African Republic is repudiated, 356 and 357; the government then cancels the concession, and the president seeks by very liberal offers to recover the goodwill of the diggers, but with only partial success, 357 to 359; on the 1st of March 1871 under Sir Henry Barkly's pressure signs deeds of submission referring the disputes with Waterboer and the Barolong and Batlapin chiefs to a court of arbitration, 385; conducts the case of the South African Republic before the arbitration court at Bloemhof in April to June 1871 in a most imbecile manner, 386 *et*

seq.; in November 1871 resigns the office of president on account of the hostility shown by the volksraad and the people upon the delivery of the Keate award, 393

Protest of the volksraad of the Orange Free State against the annexation of the diamond-fields south of the Vaal to the British dominions by Sir Henry Barkly, 419 *et seq.*

Ptolemy, work of: reference to, 444

Public buildings in the South African Republic: particulars concerning, 160

Ramanela, nephew and son-in-law of the Basuto chief Moshesh: in November 1864 pillages some farms near Bethlehem, 121; on the 27th of December 1864 attacks a guard that has been stationed by President Brand on the border, but is driven back with a loss of one killed and five wounded, 123; in January 1865 in a plundering excursion severely wounds two burghers, 123; in April 1865 pillages the farm of a widow in the Free State, and drives off thirty-five horses, 124; on the 25th of May 1865 is attacked by a burgher force, and falls back over the boundary with a design of drawing the commando into a trap, but is only pursued as far as the line, 125; on the 27th of June 1865 murders five burghers of the South African Republic travelling through the Free State, 172

Ramanela's raid into Natal: on the 27th of June 1865 Ramanela and his followers make a raid into Natal, murder some people, and drive off a large number of cattle, 192; the Natal government sends all its available forces to the border, 193; Molapo for his father and himself promises redress, 193; Sir Philip Wodehouse calls upon Moshesh to make good the damage, 193; the great chief promises to do so, but does not keep his word, 193; on the 26th of August the high commissioner makes a formal demand for ten thousand full-grown cattle, 195; in reply Moshesh offers to become a British subject, 195; the high commissioner then sends Mr. Burnet to Thaba Bosigo to try to get the cattle demanded, 195; Mr. Burnet succeeds in obtaining rather over two thousand head, 197; after which there is some correspondence, but nothing more is ever paid, 197

Ramapulana, son of the Bavenda chief Mpofu: takes advantage of the civil strife in the South African Republic to make himself practically independent, 216; in 1864 dies, ib.

Recovery in 1867 of two individuals of Rensburg's party who had grown up with the blacks and lived with them for thirty years, 234

Reddersburg, village of: in February 1861 is founded, 130

Religious excitement in the Lesuto in 1862-3: particulars concerning, 104

van Rensburg, W. C.: in April 1862 is appointed by the volksraad acting president of the South African Republic, 138; retains office as acting president until the 10th of May 1864, 144

Revenue of the Lesuto: in 1870, 323; to the 31st of May 1871, 328; particulars concerning, 328; for the year ending 31st of May 1872, 339

Revenue of the Orange Free State: in 1870, 1871, and 1872, 426

Revenue of the South African Republic: sources of, according to the constitution of January 1857, 37

Reversal of British policy in South Africa: particulars concerning, 288

Rolland, Emile: in 1871 is appointed assistant magistrate of the district of Thaba Bosigo, 331

Roman Catholic mission: is established at Korokoro in the Lesuto, 82

Roman-Dutch law: is the fundamental law of the Orange Free State, 5; and of the South African Republic

Rouxville, district of: in May 1871 is established, 426

Rouxville, village of: in November 1863 is founded, 108

Samuel, son of the Barolong chief Moroko: is partly educated in England, 268; upon his return to South Africa endeavours to supplant Tsepinare, the recognised heir to the chieftainship of the Barolong clan at Thaba Ntshu, 269; invites a missionary of the church of England to settle at Thaba Ntshu, 268; and causes a division of the clan, 269

Scheel Kobus, son of the Bushman captain Kausop: on the abandonment of the Sovereignty in 1854 is left in an independent position, 2; in May 1858 makes a raid into the Free State, 66; on the 5th of July 1858 is killed in action, 69

Schoeman, Stephanus: upon the death of Mr. P. G. Potgieter in 1854 is appointed commandant-general of Zoutpansberg, 32; in January 1857 is appointed by the representative assembly sole commandant-general of the South African Republic, 38; declines the office, 39; signs a manifesto disowning the constitution of the South African Republic adopted in January 1857 by the representative assembly, 39; is pronounced a rebel by the government at Potchefstroom, 40; in April 1857 offers to assist the Orange Free State against President Pretorius of the South African Republic, 44; in January 1858 comes to terms with the government at Potchefstroom, and becomes sole commandant-general of the South African Republic, 50; in 1860 is one of the staunchest adherents of Mr. Pretorius, 136; in November 1860 becomes acting president of the South African Republic, 136; in April 1862 is dismissed by the volksraad, 138; but refuses to give up office, 138; in October 1862 is driven by Paul Kruger from Pretoria, 138; makes a stand at Potchefstroom, 138; but is defeated in a sortie, and is obliged to retire to the Free State, 139; upon Kruger's leaving Potchefstroom takes possession of the village again, 139; after an agreement of peace returns to Pretoria,

where he again gathers an armed force, 140; but in January 1863 is compelled by Kruger's vigorous action to flee to the Free State, 140; is sentenced by a court to banishment and confiscation of property, 141; in May 1863 is permitted to return to the South African Republic, 141; after the abandonment of Schoemansdal in the Zoutpansberg war is appointed commandant of volunteers, and in October 1867 takes the field with fifty-three men, 224; but after a little skirmishing these are disbanded in December at Marabastad, 225; in July 1868 is appointed diplomatic agent in Zoutpansberg, 227; and by his efforts comparative tranquillity is restored, 227

Schoemansdal, village of: description of, 215; in June 1867 is abandoned, 223; and is shortly afterwards reduced to a heap of ruins by Katlakter's people, ib.

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Second convention of Aliwal North: in December 1869 is ratified by her Majesty's government, 316; and on the 3rd of May 1870 by the volksraad of the Orange Free State, ib.

Sekhomi, chief of the Bamangwato: account of, 251 to 253

Sekukuni: on the death of his father Sekwati in September 1861 succeeds as chief of the Bapedi, 233

Sekwati, chief of the Bapedi tribe: in November 1857 has a location assigned to him by the republic of Lydenburg, 42

Sekwati, son of the Basuto chief Poshuli: particulars concerning, 301 and 302

Senekal, Frederik: in the war of 1858 is elected second commandant-general of the Free State forces, 61; on the 21st of February 1856 is killed in action with the Basuto, 204

Separatist Reformed church: in 1858 is established in the South African Republic, 128; in 1861 is established in the Orange Free State, 130

Setsheli, chief of the Bakwena tribe: requests President Pretorius to obtain a missionary for him, 48; in 1857 a Hanoverian missionary goes to reside with him, 49; in September 1857 has a supply of ammunition for hunting purposes allowed him by the volksraad of the South African Republic, 49; in 1859 assists the Bamangwato to expel Matsheng, 252; afterwards gives Matsheng shelter, 253; in 1866 gives shelter to Sekhomi, the rival of Matsheng, 253; in 1872 assists Khama to expel Matsheng the second time, 253

Smellekamp, Johan Arnold: in 1854 is fined for alleged slander and is banished from the South African Republic, 26; but by one of the clauses in the treaty of union between Lydenburg and the South African Republic in April 1860 these sentences are reversed, 134; in August 1855 becomes landdrost of Bloemfontein, 25; in October 1856 retires, 25; until his death in May 1866 practises as a law agent at Bloemfontein, 25

Snyman, Esaias Rynier: is acting president of the Orange Free State during the interval between the retirement of Mr. Boshof and the installation of Mr. Pretorius, 80

South African Goldfields Exploration Company: in 1868 is formed, 249; in 1871 ceases operations, 250

Strabo, geography written by: reference to, 438 *et seq.*

Stuart, Jacobus: draws up the draft constitution of the South African Republic, 34

Supreme court of appeal of the Orange Free State: as constituted in September 1854, 25

Surmon, Inspector William Henry: acts as Mr. Bowker's deputy in the Lesuto, 322; in 1871 is appointed acting magistrate of the Berea district, 331

Sykes, Rev. Mr.: in 1859 assists to found a mission among the Matabele, 243

Synod of the Dutch Reformed church of the Cape Colony: since 1862 no clergymen or elders from places beyond the border can take part in the proceedings of, 130

Synod of the Dutch Reformed church in the Orange Free State: on the 10th of May 1865 meets for the first time, 113

Swazis, the: in 1855 cede a tract of land to white people, 149; in the same year cede to the South African Republic a narrow strip of land along the Pongolo, 231; in 1864 assist the South African Republic against Mapok and Malewu, 148

Tabana, son of the Bavenda chief Ramapulana: after his father's death is driven from his kraals by his brother Magadu, 216; is protected by J. Albasini, ib.

Thirty-three Articles: in 1844 the code of laws so-called is drawn up by the volksraad at Potchefstroom, and in 1849 is adopted by all the parties north of the Vaal, 33

Thomas, Rev. Mr.: in 1859 assists to found a mission among the Matabele, 243

Thompson, Mr. J. C.: in October 1871 is appointed public prosecutor of Griqualand West and a member of the executive committee, 415

Training school for teachers: in 1868 is established at Morija in Basutoland, 336

Transvaal Gold Mining Company: in 1872 is formed, 250; and soon afterwards commences work at Eersteling, ib.

Treaty of Aliwal North (first) concluded in September 1858 between the government of the Orange Free State and the Basuto chief Moshesh particulars of, 74 *et seq.*

Treaty of Aliwal North (second) concluded in February 1869 between the government of Great Britain and the Orange Free State: particulars of, 304 *et seq.*

Treaty of Imparani, concluded in March 1866 between the government of the Orange Free State and the Basuto chief Molapo: particulars of, 207

Treaty of Thaba Bosigo, concluded in April 1866 between the government of the Orange Free State and the Basuto chief Moshesh: particulars of, 209

Treaty of the 29th of July 1869 between Portugal and the South African Republic: particulars of, 260

Treaty of Smithfield, concluded in October 1855 between the government of the Orange Free State and the Basuto chief Moshesh: particulars of, 18

Treaty of Vaal River, concluded in June 1857 between the governments of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic: particulars of, 45

Truter, Olof Johannes: in August 1870 is stationed as commissioner at the diamond-fields at Pniel, 359; in May 1871 is removed as landdrost to Dutoitspan, 362; is very popular with the diggers, 415; on the 16th of November 1871 a prisoner being rescued by the British officials from the Free State police, sends in a protest and retires to Bloemfontein, 418

Tsekelo, son of the Basuto chief Moshesh: in February 1865 visits Bloemfontein as a messenger of his father, and when returning home drives off forty horses belonging to Free State farmers, 124; in 1869 accompanies Mr. Buchanan to England, 310

Tsepinare, adopted son and heir of the chief Moroko: in the war of 1865-6 commands the Barolong contingent, 177

Tsetse: formerly infested parts of Zoutpansberg, 212; but is no longer found there, ib.

Tshivasa, Bavenda chief: account of, 214

Tweed, Arthur: in October 1871 is appointed registrar and master of the high court of Griqualand West, 415

Umtonga, son of the Zulu chief Panda: in February 1861 flees into the district of Utrecht through fear of Ketshwayo, 151; see Ketshwayo

Umzila, son of Manikusa, chief of the Matshangana: in 1858, on account of a quarrel with one of his brothers, is obliged to flee from his own country, 217; takes refuge in Zoutpansberg, where a location is assigned to him by J. Albasini, 217; in 1861 proceeds to Delagoa Bay, where he obtains assistance from the Portuguese authorities which enables him to defeat his brother, 217; he then becomes chief of the Matshangana, but as a vassal of the Portuguese, 217; in 1864 desires Albasini to surrender Monene to him, 218

Union between the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State: efforts to bring about, 107 and 113

Union between the Orange Free State and the South African Republic: efforts to bring about, 71, 84 to 86, 134, and 397

Utrecht, district of: in 1848 is settled by emigrants from Natal, 41; who form an independent republic there, ib.; in September 1854 the ground is formally ceded by Panda to the farmers occupying it, 150; in May 1858 the district is united to the republic of Lydenburg, 41; and in April 1860 with Lydenburg becomes part of the South African Republic, 134

Venter, Jacobus Johannes: is chairman of a commission appointed in February 1855 to administer the government of the Orange Free State temporarily, 16; visits Moshesh and makes a useless arrangement with him, 16; acts as president between the retirement of Mr. M. W. Pretorius and the assumption of duty by Advocate J. H. Brand, 106

Vetberg line: in October 1855 is laid down by Adam Kok, acting as arbitrator, between the districts belonging to Nicholas Waterboer and Cornelis Kok, 24; in 1869 is beaconed off by a Free State commission, 348

Viljoen, Jan Willem: in December 1863 heads an insurrection against the existing government of the South African Republic, 142; on the 5th of January 1864 is defeated by Paul Kruger, 143

Volksraad of the Orange Free State: is the supreme authority of the republic, and consists of one member for each fieldcornetcy and one for each seat of magistracy. The members must be of European blood, over twenty-five years of age, resident at least one year in the state, possessed of unmortgaged landed property of the value of £200, and never convicted of crime. The members are elected for four years, half of them retiring every second year. The volksraad meets once a year in ordinary session, but may be called together in extraordinary session by the executive if need should arise. Twelve members form a quorum. The president and the state secretary have the right of debating, but not of voting, in the volksraad. For provisions of constitution of 1854 see page 3, and for amendments made in 1864 see page 109

Volksraad of the South African Republic: is the supreme authority of the state, and consists of three members for each of the districts of Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Rustenburg, Zoutpansberg, Pretoria, Wakkerstroom, Utrecht, Middelburg, Heidelberg, Waterberg, Marico, and Bloemhof, and one member for each of the towns of Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Rustenburg, and Pretoria. The members must be of European blood, over thirty years of age, possessed of landed property, members of a Protestant church, never convicted of crime, and voters in the republic of at least three years standing. No member can be elected by fewer than forty votes in his favour. Father and son cannot have seats in the volksraad at the same time. Before 1873 the members were elected for two years. Half the members retire every second year. The volksraad meets once a year in ordinary session,

but may be called together in extraordinary session by the executive if need should arise. Twelve members form a quorum. The president and members of the executive council have the right of debating but not of voting in the volksraad. For provisions of the constitution of January 1857 see page 35

Wakkerstroom, district of: in 1859 is established, 132

War of 1858 between the Orange Free State and the Basuto tribe: on the 19th of March is proclaimed at Bloemfontein, 56; Mr. J. Sauer, landdrost of Smithfield, is directed with a commando to disarm the Basuto at Beersheba, 58; he stations a guard at the ford of the Caledon, which is attacked, and a skirmish takes place, 58; the Basuto at Beersheba decline to give up their arms, 58; and are consequently fired upon, 58; on the 28th of March a commando under Hendrik Weber defeats Nehemiah and Poshuli at Vechtkop, 60; destroys Poshuli's villages, 60; on the 30th loses sixteen men in an ambush at Mohali's Hoek, 60; on the 25th of March a commando under W. J. Pretorius defeats Moperi and Molitsane at Koranaberg, 60; two commandos, under F. Senekal and W. J. Pretorius, fight their way through a dense mass of Basuto at Cathcart's drift, 60; and on the 25th of April effect a junction with Weber at Jammerberg drift, 61; the united force attacks Letsie at Morija, defeats him, and takes his kraal, 61; marches from Morija to Thaba Bosigo, arriving there on the 6th of May, 62; but at once recognises the impossibility of taking the stronghold, 62; the burghers now learn that while they have been engaged in the Lesuto swarms of light horsemen have been ravaging the districts of Winburg and Smithfield, 62 and 63; in consequence of these tidings and the hopelessness of their position, the burghers disperse to their homes, 63; in the meantime President Boshof has applied to the South African Republic for aid, 63; and the volksraad of the northern state has directed President Pretorius and Commandant-General Schoeman to proceed to Bloemfontein and endeavour to restore peace, under the assurance that if Moshesh should refuse reasonable terms the united countries will deal with him, 63; the president has also requested Sir George Grey to mediate, 63; and with the approval of the parliament of the Cape Colony that governor has consented to do so, 64; before a reply is received from either Potchefstroom or Capetown, the Free State force is dispersed, and President Boshof is compelled to ask Moshesh to suspend hostilities, 65; Moshesh replies in a haughty tone, but consents to receive a deputation to arrange a truce, 65; and on the 1st of June an armistice is signed to last until the arrival of Sir George Grey, 65; Governor Sir George Grey frames a treaty of peace which gives to the Basuto a large strip of country, 74; but transfers the Beersheba lands to the Free State, 75; on the 29th of September this treaty is signed by the representatives of both parties, 74; and on the 15th of October by Moshesh himself, 76

War of 1858 between the Orange Free State, and the Bushmen, Koranas, and Batlapin; in May and June Scheel Kobus, Goliath Yzerbek, and Gasibone make several unprovoked raids into the Free State, plundering the country and murdering several of the inhabitants, 66 and 67; a commando under Hendrik Venter is sent against them, 68; which attacks the robbers' stronghold on the 9th of July, 68; and captures it, 68; forty-three men and fifty women and children are made prisoners, 69; the men are sent under escort of a Fingo guard to the prison at Bloemfontein, 69; but are met on the way by a party of burghers and shot down, 69

War of 1858 between the South African Republic and the Batlapin: as the Batlapin captains Gasibone and Matlabane had taken advantage of the confusion caused by the Basuto war to plunder some farms and murder a burgher north of the Vaal, a commando under Paul Kruger is sent against them, 70; Gasibone flees to Mahura, who gives him shelter, 70; and declines to surrender him when called upon to do so, 70; in consequence the Batlapin are attacked, 70; on the 13th of August Gasibone is killed in battle, 70; as soon as this is known Mahura asks for peace, 70; and on the 18th terms are signed, in which Mahura agrees to surrender all captured property and within three months pay the costs of the campaign, 70

War between the South African Republic and the Baramapulana in the district of Zoutpansberg: is commenced in April 1865 by commandos of Europeans and Knobnoses attacking some clans who were giving shelter to a fugitive from justice, 219; the white inhabitants of the northern part of the district retire into lagers, 219; much property is destroyed by the blacks, 220; a strong commando is called out by the government, 220; but the burghers decline to obey the call, 220; in June 1866 a small commando under the president takes the field, but effects nothing, 221; the clans now begin to quarrel among themselves, 221; but early in 1867 suspend their dissensions and attack the Europeans again, 221; in May 1867 Commandant-General Kruger with five hundred men, ill supplied with munitions of war, attacks Katlakter, but does not succeed in capturing that chief's stronghold, 222; in June 1867 the commandant-general finds it necessary to abandon Schoemansdal, 223; and permit the burghers to return to their homes, 223; after the commando is disbanded, the president endeavours to raise a force of volunteers, but succeeds in obtaining only fifty-three men, 224; these take the field under Commandant Stephanus Schoeman, but can effect nothing, 224; in February 1868 only two hundred and sixty men assemble out of a thousand called out, so that Kruger can do nothing but disband them, 225; the people in the lagers are by this time reduced to extreme poverty, 226; in May 1868 between eight and nine hundred men assemble, and attack Mapela, who has joined the other insurgents, 226; they inflict heavy losses upon him, 226; the principal insurgents

are now quarrelling with each other, 227 ; in July 1868 a kind of peace is concluded by President Pretorius and Mr. S. Schoeman with the Baramapulana, 227 ; and in February 1869 a formal peace is made with Mapela and Matshem, 227 ; the clans then fight with each other, and in October 1869 a Swazi army nearly annihilates the most powerful of them, 228

War of 1865-6 between the Orange Free State and the Basuto tribe : every effort to induce Moshesh to fulfil his engagements having failed, and various acts of violence having been committed by Basuto chiefs on Free State soil, on the 9th of June 1865 war is proclaimed by President Brand, 125 ; on the 13th of June the Free State army under Commandant - General Fick forms a camp a short distance from Mabolela, the residence of the chief Moperi, 166 ; on the 14th eight hundred and fifty men leave the camp to attack Mabolela, 166 ; but are opposed on the march by an overwhelming force of Basuto, 167 ; at the same time a strong detachment of the Basuto army, under the chief Lerothodi, advances to attack the camp, 167 ; upon ascertaining this, the commando falls back and repels Lerothodi, thus failing in the design of taking Mabolela, but saving the camp, 167 ; on the 20th and 21st of June a column of Basuto under Poshuli and Morosi makes a destructive raid into the district of Smithfield, 168 ; on the 27th and 28th of June another party under Masupha and Moperi makes a raid into the Bloemfontein district, murders fifty - four halfbreeds and a number of Europeans, 170; but on the 29th is encountered at Verkeerde Vlei by a party of burghers, and is defeated with heavy loss, 171 ; a third raiding party ravages the country to within two hours ride of the village of Kroonstad, 171 ; on the 14th of July Vechtkop is taken by the division of the Free State forces under Commandant Wepener, invading the Lesuto from the south, 175 ; and on the 31st of July Letsie's town of Matsieng is occupied by the same commando, 176 ; when Wepener issues a proclamation declaring the country up to a line from Bamboesplaats to Thaba Tele and thence north by compass to the Caledon annexed to the Free State, 176; Commandant-General Fick advances from the north, and on the 20th of July crosses the Caledon, 176; proclaims the territory north and west of that river part of the Free State, 176 ; on the 25th of July takes the Berea mountain by storm, 176 and 177 ; and forms his camp on the site of Masupha's town, 177 ; on the 3rd of August Wepener joins Fick before Thaba Bosigo, where the whole Free State force is concentrated, 178 ; on the 8th of August an unsuccessful attempt is made to take Thaba Bosigo by storm, 178 ; on the 15th of August a second unsuccessful attempt is made to take Thaba Bosigo by storm, 181 ; on the 23rd of August Moshesh proposes to President Brand to invite the high commissioner to arrange terms of peace, and asks for an armistice, 182 ; on the 25th the president informs Moshesh of the terms on which he is prepared to make peace, 183 ; which terms are

rejected by the great chief, 186 ; on the 24th of August the council of war resolves to blockade Thaba Bosigo, and scour the surrounding country, 182 ; during the blockade many thousands of oxen perish on Thaba Bosigo, 183 ; on the 25th of September, owing to the return home of most of the burghers, the siege of Thaba Bosigo is raised, 187 ; on the 27th of June five burghers of the South African Republic travelling through the Free State are murdered by Ramanela's people, and their property is seized, 172 ; on the 7th of August President Pretorius demands from Moshesh the murderers and the value of the property, 185 ; as Moshesh does not comply with the demand, a force of nine hundred and seventy men is sent under Commandant-General Kruger to punish him, 188 ; on the morning of the 29th of September this force is attacked at Naauwpoort by Molapo's followers, but quickly puts them to flight, 188 ; on the 6th of October the forces under Kruger and Fick unite at Molapo's town of Leribe, 188 ; when Fick proclaims the district between the Caledon and the Putiatsana Free State territory, 188 ; on the 23rd of October the combined forces defeat a great Basuto army at Cathcart's Drift, 188 ; on the 30th of October Kruger's commando leaves for home without making peace with the Basuto, 189 ; on the 1st of November Commandant Pieter Wessels defeats Morosi, 189 ; President Brand commissions Messrs. Webster and Tainton to raise bodies of European and coloured volunteers, 191 ; Sir Philip Wodehouse objects to this, and threatens if it is carried out to prevent supplies of ammunition passing through the colonies, 191 ; on the 1st of December General Fick takes Leribe, when Molapo retires to Thaba Patsoa, 191 ; in December Lebenya with his clan crosses the Orange into the Wittebergen reserve, and claims British protection, 192 ; on the 8th of January 1866 Molitsane attacks the village of Winburg, and causes some damage, 198 ; on the 22nd of the same month Molapo attacks the village of Bethlehem, but is beaten back with heavy loss, 198 ; in the beginning of February the burghers again take the field in force, 199 ; on the 22nd of February the volksraad declines an offer which Sir Philip Wodehouse has made to act as mediator, 202 and 203 ; on the 19th of February Molapo and Ramanela are defeated, 204 ; from the 23rd of February to the 2nd of March the Drakensberg is scoured by a large commando, and a good many cattle are captured, 204 ; which causes Molapo to ask for peace, 205 ; an armistice is agreed to with him, 206 ; and afterwards with Moshesh and Letsie, 206 ; on the 26th of March peace is concluded with Molapo, and the treaty of Imparani is signed, by which that chief becomes a vassal of the Free State, 208 ; as Moshesh and Letsie decline to make peace on the president's terms, on the 22nd of March war is renewed with them, 207 ; on the 31st of March at an assembly of chiefs at Thaba Bosigo it is resolved to profess to agree to peace in order to save the crops then ready to be gathered, 208 ; Moshesh writes to the president asking for peace, and offering to cede the territory which Fick and Wepener have proclaimed

part of the Free State, 209; on the 3rd of April terms are agreed to on both sides, and peace is concluded by the signing of the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, 209; in November 1866 Moshesh makes overtures to President Pretorius, of the South African Republic, for a formal treaty of peace, 230; a deputation is sent from Pretoria to Thaba Bosigo, 230; and in February 1867 an agreement of peace and friendship is signed, 230

War of 1867-8 between the Orange Free State and the Basuto tribe: on the 16th of July 1867 President Brand calls the burghers to arms to compel Moshesh to observe the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, 276; on the 5th of August two strong brigades enter the disturbed territory, 276; on the 25th of September Makwai's mountain is taken by Chief-Commandant Pansegrouw's division, 277; Chief-Commandant G. J. Joubert destroys extensive fortifications in the ceded district north of the Lesuto, 283; on the 28th of January 1868 Tandjesberg is captured by Chief-Commandant Pansegrouw, 284; on the 22nd of February 1868 the Kieme is taken by Chief-Commandant Pansegrouw, 286; on receipt of this intelligence, Sir Philip Wodehouse, to preserve the Basuto tribe intact, proclaims Moshesh's people British subjects and their country British territory, 287; on the 26th of March Sir Walter Currie and the police arrive at Thaba Bosigo, 290; President Brand then issues orders to the Free State forces not to cross the boundary fixed by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, 291; the volksraad resolves to send a deputation to England to protest to the imperial government, 292; the rev. Mr. Van de Wall and Mr. C. J. de Villiers are sent to England, 299; but are informed at the colonial office that her Majesty's government will not withdraw the negotiations from the high commissioner, 299; the secretary of state leaves the matter entirely in Sir Philip Wodehouse's hands, 299; meantime a fruitless correspondence is carried on between the high commissioner and the Free State government, 299; owing to no settlement being effected, the Basuto generally become dissatisfied, 301; and the country is in a state of lawlessness, 302; the Natal government desires the annexation of the Lesuto, 303; the Free State, having no alternative, consents to negotiate, and on the 4th of February 1869 its deputies meet the high commissioner at Aliwal North, 304; where on the 12th of February 1869 the second treaty of Aliwal North is signed, by which a portion of the territory ceded by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo is restored to the Basuto, 305

Waterberg, district of: in March 1866 is formed out of parts of Zoutpansberg and Rustenburg, 237

Waterboer, Nicholas: in January 1853 succeeds his father as captain of the district of Griquatown, 343; in 1854 has his claim to ground above the junction of the Orange and Vaal rivers recognised by the government of the Orange Free State, 7; in October 1855 submits his dispute concerning territory with Cornelis Kok to the arbitration of Adam Kok, and is awarded the land south of the Vetberg line,

24; after October 1855 is recognised by the Free State government as possessing sovereign as well as proprietary rights in the district between the Orange river and the Vetberg line, 24; see also Arnot and Griqualand

Weber, Hendrik: in the war of 1858 is the first commandant-general of the Free State forces, 60

Wepener, Lourens Jacobus: removes from the Cape Colony to the Orange Free State, and at the commencement of the war of 1865-6 with the Basuto is elected commandant of the district of Bethulie, 167; on the 15th of June 1865 offers to call for volunteers to attempt to take Mabolela by storm, 168; but the council of war rejects the proposal, ib.; on the 14th of July takes Vechtkop by storm, 175; on the 31st of July takes Matsieng, 176; on the 3rd of August joins General Fick before Thaba Bosigo, 178; on the 15th of August is killed while leading a party of volunteers in an attempt to take Thaba Bosigo, 181

Wepener, village of: in October 1867 is founded, 293

Wesleyan Missionary Society: in 1866 is treated by the Free State government in exactly the same manner as the French Society, 268; after this date has only the station of Thaba Ntshu between the Orange and the Vaal, ib.

Western boundary of the South African Republic: various views concerning, 254 to 259

Witsi, chief of a robber clan termed the Bakolokwe: account of, 10 and 11; plunders the farmers in the district of Harrismith, 20; in May 1855 is punished by a commando, but not humbled, 20; in 1856 is driven out by a commando under Landdrost J. M. Orpen, 21; retires to the Lesuto, and becomes a subject of Moshesh, 21

Wodehouse, Sir Philip: in January 1862 arrives in South Africa as governor of the Cape Colony and her Majesty's high commissioner, 98; twelve days later addresses a very unfriendly letter to the president of the Orange Free State, 98; is urgently requested by the Free State government to point out to Moshesh the boundary between whites and blacks defined by the British authorities in the time of the Sovereignty, as the Basuto are trespassing far beyond it, 102; in October 1864 visits the Free State to define the boundary, 117; inspects the country along the Warden line, 118; and on the 28th of October 1864 gives a written award in favour of the boundary claimed by the Free State, 118; is deceived by Moshesh's professions of desire to act in good faith, 121; when the war breaks out between the Free State and the Basuto tribe, on the 27th of June 1865 issues a proclamation of neutrality, 173; on the 13th of January 1866 proposes to the secretary of state for the colonies to take over the Basuto as British subjects, 199; objects to the conditions of the treaties of Imparani and Thaba Bosigo, 264; in May 1867 expresses dissatisfaction with the reception by the Free State

of many Basuto chiefs and clans as subjects, 273; in September 1867 again recommends the reception of the Basuto as British subjects, 281; on the 9th of December 1867 the secretary of state for the colonies gives his consent to the annexation of Basutoland to Natal, 282; upon receipt of a despatch to this effect, Sir Philip Wodehouse proposes a cessation of hostilities, 283; and as the Free State government does not consent, he prohibits the removal of ammunition from colonial ports to the republic, 285; on the 12th of March 1868 proclaims the Basuto British subjects and their country British territory, 287; on the 27th of March proposes to President Brand as a settlement a belt of three hundred farms behind the border of 1864, 292; the president refuses, 293; on the 14th of April Sir Philip Wodehouse writes to President Brand proposing a temporary boundary and no molestation from either side pending negotiations, 294; the president declines to agree to any other boundary than the one fixed by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, 294; on the 15th of April Sir Philip Wodehouse meets the Basuto chiefs at Thaba Bosigo, 296; they express a desire that the Lesuto shall not be annexed to Natal, 297; a few days later they request that the Lesuto may be declared a reserve independent of both colonies, 297; on the 12th of February 1869 Sir Philip Wodehouse concludes a treaty with the Free State, by which a portion of the territory ceded by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo is restored to the Basuto tribe, 305; on the 22nd of February 1869 meets the Basuto chiefs at Korokoro, 306; in March visits Nomansland, and assigns locations to various clans there, 308; in May 1870 draws up a series of regulations for the government of the Basuto tribe, 321; objects to the boundaries of the South African Republic as defined in President Pretorius's proclamation of the 29th of April 1868, 254

Zeerust, village of: in 1868 is founded, 237

Zoutpansberg: description of the district of, 211; in January 1857 separates from the South African Republic, 39; but in January 1858 is again united to it, 50; in 1864 contains many lawless Europeans, 214; from 1865 to 1868 is the theatre of constant wars and disturbances, 163

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